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A Representation of the "The Castilian Poetry”

Fulton, J.M

Abstract *Though my first impression of Madrid was not a good one, I very quickly adapted to this capital city in the center of the Castilian plain. My fondness for the entire metropolis increased as I took daily walks to the stores, cafes, museums, parks and other places of amusement or of historical importance. Studying at the residence was not the real education I was to receive, for the learning was not so much in the books as in the experience of going on excursions nearly every other weekend. We visited many regions of Spain and also of Portugal: the Pyrenees with their gorgeous vibrancy, the beaches along the Mediterranean coast, and the vast southern region, La Mancha, where the legendary Don Quixote rode forth on his quest and where a sultan of Granada had built a palace for his many wives. We also enjoyed the burning of a multitude of papier-mâché “fallas” on the street corners of the city of Valencia as well as the colorful spring festival of Seville along with visits to castles, museums and cathedrals too numerous to name.*

Keywords: *“Castilian poetry”, Spanish, literature, poems, representation*

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Introduction

While there is a growing body of literature examining service-learning in South Africa, few studies have been conducted in Kenya. Opiyo-Newa (2012) conducted an assessment of internships and CBL programs at one university and found that students had positive attitudes towards CBL opportunities, but their writing and research skills needed improvement in order to achieve their learning outcomes. In an assessment of the Students' Community Service Program at their institution, Tumuti et al. (2013) found that two-week CBL experiences allowed students to develop a variety of skills valued by Kenyan employers, such as communication and interpersonal skills, learning and problem-solving, and self-development skills. They note the benefits of this program in countering criticism of the Kenyan educational system for alienating students from the lived realities of their communities resulting from its preoccupation with testing, training for white-collar employment and focus on globalization at the expense of local needs. Finally, in a project related to this current study, challenges encountered by field supervisors were identified and used to inform the development of a new course to prepare students for CBL experiences (Kathuri-Ogola et al. 2015; Van Leeuwen et al. 2018). These challenges included helping Kenyan students to develop reflective practice skills, articulating CBL learning goals, preparing students for demanding situations and workplaces, facilitating students' development in interpersonal communication, and a lack of understanding of students' field experiences. Thus, it is recognized that CBL is very desirable within the Kenyan context, and the implementation of these programs is key to their success for the various stakeholders.

Integrating practicum within higher education has been typically accomplished in two ways, either through a block or a concurrent approach (Haneef, Yusof & Amin 2006; Weert 2011). In the concurrent approach, students complete a designated number of hours each week with the host organisation while completing other course requirements. In the block practicum approach, students engage in community-based learning experience without completing other course requirements. In many developing countries, institutions of higher learning opt for block practicum for their students (Johnson, Bailey & Padmore 2012). The preference for the block approach could be due to limited practicum opportunities within the vicinity of the respective universities. Many host organizations in developing countries are located in areas far from industrial hubs where most universities are located, and thus students have to compete for the few practicum opportunities available. The block approach provides an opportunity for students to participate in practicum opportunities during a set practicum period in locations that can be far away from the learning institution. Additionally, the large ratio of students per faculty member makes it easier for university administrators to manage the block system, as compared to the concurrent one.

Elements of Poetry - A Brief Introduction

1. What is Poetry? It is difficult to define; we have been more successful at describing and appreciating poetry than at defining it. Poetry might be defined, initially, as a kind of language that says more and says it more intensely than does ordinary language. William Wordsworth defined poetry as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings, recollected in tranquility." Poetry is the most condensed and concentrated form of literature, saying most in the fewest number of words.

2. Reading the Poem: a. Read a poem more than once. b. Keep a dictionary by you and use it. c. Read so as to hear the sounds of the words in your mind. Poetry is written to be heard: its meanings are conveyed through sound as well as through print. Every word is therefore important. d. Always pay careful attention to what the poem is saying. e. Practice reading poems aloud. Ask yourself the following questions: i. Who is the speaker and what is the occasion? ii. What is the central purpose of the poem? iii. By what means is the purpose of the poem achieved?

3. Denotation(直接意义) and Connotation(内涵意义): The average word has three components parts: sound, denotation, and connotation. Denotation is the dictionary meaning(s) of the word; connotations are what it suggests beyond what it expresses: its overtones of meaning. It acquires these connotations by its past history and associations, by the way and the circumstances in which it has been used.

4. Imagery(n.意象): Poetry communicates experience and experience comes to us largely through the senses (seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, and touching). Imagery may be defined as the representation through language of sense experience. The word image perhaps most often suggests a mental picture, something seen in the mind's eye - and visual imagery is the most frequently occurring kind of imagery in poetry. But an image may also represent a sound; a smell; a taste; a tactile experience; and an internal sensation.

5. Figurative Language 1: Metaphor(n.隐喻), Personification, and Metonymy n.转喻)Figures of speech are another way of adding extra dimensions to language. Broadly defined, a figure of speech is any of saying something other than the ordinary way, and some rhetoricians have classified as many as 250 separate figures. Figurative language is language that cannot be taken literally. Metaphor and simile(.明喻) are both used as a means of comparing things that are essentially unlike; in simile the comparison is expressed by the use of some word or phrase such as like, as than, similar to, resembles or seems; in metaphor the comparison is implied - that is, the figurative term is substituted for or identified with the literal term. Personification consists in giving the attributes of a human being to an animal, an object, or a concept. Closely related to personification is apostrophen.顿呼法), which consists in addressing someone absent or something non human as if it were alive and present and could reply to what is being said. Synecdoche(n.提喻法) (the use of the part for the whole) and metonymy([□□□□□□□□□□] n.转喻法) (the use of something closely related for the thing actually meant) are alike in that both substitute some significant detail or aspect of an experience for the experience itself.

6. Figurative Language 2: Symbol and Allegory(n.寓言; 讽喻): A symbol may be roughly defined as something that means more than what it is. Image, metaphor,

and symbol shade into each other and are sometimes difficult to distinguish. In general, however, an image means only what it is; a metaphor means something other than what it is; and a symbol means what it is and something more too. Allegory is a narrative or description that has a second meaning beneath the surface one. Although the surface story or description may have its own interest, the author's major interest is in the ulterior meaning. Allegory has been defined as an extended metaphor and sometimes as a series of related symbols.

7. Figurative Language 3: A paradox is an apparent contradiction that is nevertheless true. It may either be a situation or a statement ("damn with faint praise"). Overstatement, or hyperbole, is simply exaggeration but exaggeration in the service of truth. Understatement, or saying less than one means, may exist in what one says or merely in how one says it like paradox, irony has meanings that extend beyond its use merely as a figure of speech. Verbal irony, saying the opposite of what one means, is often confused with sarcasm and with satire. Sarcasm and satire both imply ridicule, one on the colloquial level, the other on the literary level. The term irony always implies some sort of discrepancy or incongruity: between what is said and what is meant, or between appearance and reality, or between expectation and fulfillment (dramatic irony and irony of situation). Allusion(n.暗示), a reference to something in history or previous literature, is, like a richly connotative word or a symbol, a means of suggesting far more that it says. Allusions are a means of reinforcing the emotion or the ideas of one's own work with the emotion or ideas of another work or occasion. Because they are capable of saying so much in so little, they are extremely useful to the poet.

8. Tone and Musical Devices: Tone , in literature, may be defined as the writer's or speaker's attitude toward the subject, the audience, or toward herself/himself. Almost all the elements of poetry go into indicating its tone: connotation, imagery, and metaphor; irony and understatement; rhythm, sentence construction, and formal pattern. The poet chooses words for sound as well as for meaning. Verbal music is one of the important resources that enable the poet to do something more than communicate mere information. Essential elements in all music are repetition and variation. The repetition of initial consonant sounds, as in "tried and true," "safe and sound," "fish and fowl," "rime and reason," is alliteration. The repetition of vowel sounds, as in "mad as a hatter," "time out of mind," "free and easy," "slapdash," is assonance(n.类音; 类韵). The repetition of final consonant sounds, as in "first and last," "odds and ends," "short and sweet," "a stroke of luck," is consonancen.和音. The combination of assonance and consonance is rime. Rime is the repetition of the accented vowel sound and all succeeding sounds.

9. Rhythm and Meter: The term rhythm refers to any wave like recurrence of motion or sound. Meter is the kind of rhythm we can tap our foot to. Metrical language is called verse; non metrical language is prose.

Trochee trips from long to short;
From long to long in solemn sort
Slow Spondee stalks; strong foot yet ill able

Ever to come up with Dactylic trisyllable.
Iambics march from short to long
With a leap and a bound the swift Anapests throng.
- Samuel Taylor Coleridge

The foot is the metrical unit by which a line of poetry is measured; it usually consists of one stressed or accented (') and one or two unstressed or unaccented syllables (-).

Name of Foot	Name of Meter	Measure
Iamb	Iambic	× /
Trochee	Trochaic	/ ×
Anapest	Anapestic	×× /
Dactyl	Dactylic	/ ××
Spondee	Spondaic	/ /
Pyrrhic	Pyrrhic	××

The secondary unit of measurement, the line, is measured by naming the number of feet in it. A line that ends with a stressed syllable is said to have a masculine ending and a line that ends with an extra syllable is said to have a feminine ending. A pause within a line is called a caesura and is identified by a double vertical line (||). A line with a pause at its end is called end-stopped line, whereas a line that continues without a pause is called run-on line or enjambment. The following metrical names are used to identify the lengths of lines:

Length	Name
one foot	Monometer
two feet	Dimeter
three feet	Trimeter
four feet	Tetrameter
five feet	Pentameter
six feet	Hexameter
seven feet	Heptameter
eight feet	Octameter

The third unit, the stanza, consists of a group of lines whose metrical pattern is repeated throughout the poem.

The process of measuring verse is referred to as scansion. To scan a poem we do these three things: 1. we identify the prevailing meter, 2. we give a metrical name to the number of feet in a line, and 3. we describe the stanza pattern or rhyme-scheme.

10. Patterns of Traditional Poems

Ballad(民歌, or literary ballad, is a long singing poem that tells a story (usually of love or adventure), written in quatrains - four lines alternatively of four and three feet - the third line may have internal rhymes.

Blank Verse无韵诗; 素体诗is made up of unrhymed iambic pentameter lines.

Elegy悲歌 挽歌is a lyric poem written to commemorate someone who is dead.

Epigram警句 讽刺短诗is a brief, pointed, and witty poem of no prescribed form.

Free Verse自由诗体has no identifiable meter, although the lines may have a rhyme-scheme. . . .

Heroic Couplet is two lines of rhyming iambic pentameters. . . .

Lyric(抒情诗) is a poem of emotional intensity and expresses powerful feelings.

Narrative叙事诗form is used to tell a story; it is usually made of ballad stanzas - four lines alternatively of four and three feet.

Ode颂诗; 赋 English in origin, is a poem of indefinite length, divided in 10-line stanzas, rhymed, with different schemes for each stanza - ababcdecde, written in iambic meter.

Parody模仿诗is a humorous imitation of a serious poem.

Quatrain is a four-line stanza with various meters and rhyme schemes.

Sestina consists of thirty-nine lines divided into six six-line stanzas and a three-line concluding stanza called an envoy.

Sonnet is a fourteen line poem. The Italian or Petrarchan has two stanzas: the first of eight lines is called octave and has the rhyme-scheme; the second of six lines is called the sestet. The Spenserian sonnet, developed by Edmund Spenser, has three quatrains and a heroic couplet, in iambic pentameter with rhymes. The English sonnet, developed by Shakespeare, has three quatrains and a heroic couplet, in iambic pentameter with rhymes.

Tercet is a three-line stanza; when all three lines rhyme they are called a triplet.

Villanelle is a fixed form consisting of nineteen lines divided into six stanzas: five tercets and a concluding quatrain.

Here are some more serious examples of the various meters.

iambic pentameter (5 iambs, 10 syllables)

That time | of year | thou mayst | in me | behold

trochaic tetrameter (4 trochees, 8 syllables)

Tell me | not in | mournful | numbers

anapestic trimeter (3 anapests, 9 syllables)

And the sound | of a voice | that is still

dactylic hexameter (6 dactyls, 17 syllables; a trochee replaces the last dactyl)
This is the | forest pri | meval, the | murmuring | pine and the | hemlocks
11. Other terms in literature:
Romanticism
An artistic and intellectual movement originating in Europe in the late 18th century and characterized by a heightened interest in nature, emphasis on the individual's expression of emotion and imagination, departure from the attitudes and forms of classicism, and rebellion against established social rules and conventions.
Classicism
Aesthetic attitudes and principles manifested in the art, architecture, and literature of ancient Greece and Rome and characterized by emphasis on form, simplicity, proportion, and restraint.
Realism
The representation in art or literature of objects, actions, or social conditions as they actually are, without idealization or presentation in abstract form.
Modernism
The deliberate departure from tradition and the use of innovative forms of expression that distinguish many styles in the arts and literature of the 20th century.

We visited tiny insignificant places such as San Roque when we stayed at a convent before embarking on a small journey across the Strait of Gibraltar into the strange and wondrous land of Morocco. Too many were my experiences to discuss them all here unless I were to write a book! In our small group, some of us were given nicknames.

Because I was the one and only student who seemed to be always trying to get everyone to "speak only Spanish" and because I was constantly taking pictures with my trusty Canon camera, I became known as "Miss Spain," a name which I relished. I and my few closest friends would often wander off onto streets removed from the typical tourist's route. The photos I took in these places are among my most treasured!

uncaptured
sounds, flavors and aromas. . .
snapping photos

In the end, it all came back to Madrid -that central capital city of a nation whose diversity I was able to happily experience for myself in those four short months I so eagerly lapped up. In Madrid I had also met a handsome Madrileño with whom I tried to practice my Spanish, stumbling my way through conversations with his friends and family. In early June, the time came for us to leave that great city. We would visit Rome, Athens and Jerusalem before returning to Paris and then England, our final stop before going back home. Indeed, it was to be the trip of my life, for I can not imagine such an opportunity ever coming my way again! When we left Madrid for our last time in early June, I was on the verge of re-

ally "getting" the Spanish language, so I felt heartsick to have to leave so soon. Not one other person in my group seemed to share the melancholy of "Miss Spain" as she sat at the back of the bus looking back at the figure of her boyfriend fading away forever with the streets of Madrid.

Not only will poems help your Spanish language, but they'll help your understanding of Spanish cultures. By reading poems by authors of various nationalities, you'll grow to appreciate nuances of language and culture that make each country different.

This is because poetry is an essential piece of any culture. Poems embody the unique culture and worldview of the society from which they spring. You'll also catch glimpses of the society of origin's social and political climate. This isn't only true about Spanish poetry, but all poetry. For example, a poem written by a British man during the American Revolution will be incredibly different than a poem written by an American man during the same era.

The same thing applies with Spanish poetry. Reading a poem by a Mexican poet may be quite different than a poem written by a Chilean poet.

Why?

Because both countries have different cultures, political backgrounds, environments, histories and so on. This is why it's important to cast a wide net when reading poetry. Beyond this cultural element, I'm going to give you three very real outcomes of learning Spanish through poetry.

1. Poetry will expand your vocabulary

Let's take a short section of a poem in English to illustrate this point. This is a poem by Walt Whitman called "A Noiseless Patient Spider."

A noiseless, patient spider,

I mark'd, where, on a little promontory, it stood isolated;

A promontory? What's that? Basically, it's a ledge. In my everyday life would I have ever come across this word? Maybe…but probably not. It's the same with Spanish poems. Poetry explores language of varying complexity and it plays with words and grammar in unique ways to express ideas and imagery. It strives to capture your imagination and your heart with colorful descriptions.

The more you read more poems, the more new words you'll learn. You'll be able to better express yourself. You'll finally be able to write Spanish like a total pro. And you'll be able to flip through the pages of classic Spanish literature with greater ease.

2. Poetry will teach you different sentence structure

Oftentimes the first thing we think about poems is that they have to rhyme. That's a natural connection we've been taught since elementary school. Not all poems rhyme, but all poems play with sentence structure. Sentence structure manipulation is easily seen in poems that rhyme because in our everyday language we don't speak in rhymes.

Let's look at another poem in English that demonstrates this principle. "Peanut Butter Sandwich" by Shel Silvertein is one of my favorites.

His subjects all were silly fools
For he had passed a royal rule
That all they could learn in school
Was how to make a peanut-butter sandwich.
Outside of a poem this sentence would make more sense written like this:
None of the king's subjects were very smart because
He told them the only thing they could learn at school
Was how to make a peanut-butter sandwich.

Obviously example number 2 doesn't sound very poetic and that's the point. Poetry is supposed to stretch the limits of language and rearrange words to create something that sounds beautiful.

This lesson is where a lot of people get hung up on poetry. Sentences don't seem to make sense, they don't flow as usual and they're almost foreign. Things get rearranged in strange and unexpected ways. Spanish poetry is no different. In a bit we'll look at how Spanish poets play with sentence structure, and how this can help you with your Spanish skills.

3. Poetry creates images with words

Poetic imagery is lovely and all, but does it help you with your Spanish?

Yes. Poems will teach you new ways to describe things. Next time you're having a conversation with someone, you can draw descriptions from different poems that you've read. Here's an example of a poem translated by Joshua Sylvester which was originally written by Du Bartas.

But when winter's keener breath began
To crystallize the Baltic ocean,
To glaze the lakes and bridle up the floods,
And periwig with wool and bald-pate woods.

Maybe next time you talk about something frosting over you'll know to say that "it crystallized."

Now let's take these three lessons and apply them to a Spanish poem.

How to Use Spanish Poems as Powerful Learning Tools

"Walking Around" by Pablo Neruda

Neruda was a Chilean poet—probably one of the most well-known Spanish poets. He's the equivalent of someone like Walt Whitman, Henry David Thoreau or Ralph Waldo Emerson. Neruda even won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1917. It's no wonder we're going to use a poem by this amazing author as our case study.

Also, most of his poems are available in English and Spanish, which is a big plus.

Let's jump right in with the first stanza in Neruda's poem "Walking Around."

*Sucede que me canso de ser hombre. (*It so happens I am sick of being a man.)

Sucede que entro en las sastrerías y en los cines (And it happens that I walk into tailor shops and movie-houses)

marchito, impenetrable, como un cisne de fieltro (dried up, waterproof, like a swan made of felt)

navegando en un agua de origen y ceniza. (steering my way in a water of wombs and ashes.)

Let's take our three learning lessons and apply them to this stanza.

1. Poetry will expand your vocabulary

There are a few words in this stanza that I don't use on a day-to-day basis. I wasn't even sure what some of them were until I read the translation.

Sastrerías (tailor shops)

Marchito (dried up)

Fieltro (felt)

Ceniza (ashes)

Look at that! You can now add four more words to your growing Spanish vocabulary, and this is only one stanza! Imagine reading the whole poem. In fact, why don't you go read the whole poem right now?

2. Poetry will teach you different sentence structure

This entire stanza is only two sentences. The first sentence is pretty straightforward, but the second sentence is where Neruda starts playing with structure.

"In a water of wombs and ashes" isn't a typical phrase in English, or a typical phrase in Spanish for that matter. Typically you would use a word like "lake," "pond" or "puddle" instead of "a water." But that's what's so cool about poetry, you can break the rules a little.

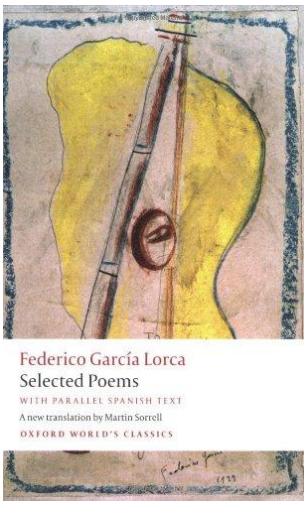
3. Poetry creates images with words

The most powerful image, in my opinion, is "dried up, waterproof , like a swan made of felt."

Wow.

You can see it. You can see the swan made of felt. You can feel that swan. This little phrase makes such an impact. A swan is a bird that loves water. It's wet, it's beautiful and majestic. When Neruda says, "like a swan made of felt," all of a sudden that beautiful image of a swan is cheap, dried up and artificial.

Maybe next time you feel worn out or not quite like yourself you can simply say, "*Soy un cisne de fieltro."*



This doesn't just apply to one stanza either, it applies to every stanza of every poem you'll come across. Take a good hard look at the rest of the Neruda poem and go through these three steps with every stanza. Your Spanish will explode from all the new things you'll learn.

More Great Spanish Poetry

This isn't the only poem by Pablo Neruda (of course). In fact, you can buy a book from Amazon entitled "The Essential Neruda: Selected Poems (Bilingual Edition)." Since this book is bilingual, you can read through the poem in Spanish, see how much you understand, then check your understanding with the English

translation. Another great poetry book by Pablo Neruda is "Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair: Dual-Language Edition."

Once you've gone through Neruda, move on to another poet. Every poet has a different voice and style. Federico García Lorca was not only a poet, he wrote stories too. "Selected Poems: with parallel Spanish text" is a book full of his beautiful poems that also guides you through new Spanish language.

Another incredibly famous Spanish story writer/poet is Jorge Luis Borges. He and Neruda are often mentioned in the same breath. "Poemas del Alma" is full of poems by Borges.

So, now can you see that poems aren't as scary as your high school teacher led you to believe? Who knows, maybe you'll start writing your own Spanish poems! Try it out. Play with sentence structure, rhythm, language and images.

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The poetry in Garcia Lorca's 'Poema del Cante Jondo' in Heidegger's conception

Tcherepashenets, N.S

Abstract *Yet Heidegger's conception of God as a being is limited to the metaphysical conception of God, and, as I will present in my thesis, there is a difference between the metaphysical conception of God, and the God of faith. Thus, it is only the narrowness of Heidegger's conception of God which makes Being into a being. Therefore, if we step outside of the metaphysical understanding of God we see that Being can be thought of as analogous to God, without being thought of as a being. This is precisely what I shall argue in my thesis. Along with discussing the analogy between God and Being I will consider whether Heidegger is successful in his attempt to step outside of metaphysics, thereby avoiding the representational and subjectivist thinking metaphysics entails. It is the language Heidegger uses in describing man's relation to Being that suggest an analogy between God and Being. Yet this analogy presents the possibility that Heidegger is able to think Being through faith in much the same way that other thinkers within the metaphysical tradition think of God. Furthermore, Heidegger appears to be trapped by a language that is inherently metaphysical, yet he attempts to escape this language by resorting to a phenomenology based on faith and poetry. In this thesis I will explore Heidegger's conception of thinking as he presents it in What Is Called Thinking?, and argue that the language Heidegger uses to describe Being make Being analogous to God. Following from this I will examine the implication of this analogy on Heidegger's attempt to step outside of metaphysics.*

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Introduction

Although there is so much more we could say about division two of Being and Time, there is one final topic that I'd briefly like to explore and which some readers think is the climax of the book: temporality. Let me begin by describing what Heidegger is trying to avoid in his discussion of time.

Time should be grasped in and of itself as the unity of the three dimensions of future, past and present. To try and compress 437 dense pages of Being and Time into eight brief blogs was obviously a difficult exercise from the start. But, I must admit, this was also part of the attraction. Despite the limits of this virtual medium, I hope that something of the book has been conveyed in a way that might encourage people to read more and further. Being and Time is extraordinarily rich, difficult and systematic work of philosophy that repays careful reading and rereading.

That Heidegger continues to arouse controversy and heated misunderstanding is evidenced by some of the responses to these blogs. All I would ask is that Heidegger's detractors (you know, the "this is bullshit" brigade) take the trouble to read his work with a little care and to pause before reacting.

Firstly, he is trying to criticize the idea of time as a uniform, linear and infinite series of "now-points". On this model, which derives ultimately from Aristotle's Physics, the future is the not-yet-now, the past is the no-longer-now, and the present is the now that flows from future to past at each passing moment. This is what Heidegger calls the "vulgar" or ordinary conception of time where priority is always given to the present. Heidegger thinks that this Aristotelian conception of time has dominated philosophical inquiries into time from the ancient Greeks to Hegel and even up to his near contemporary Bergson.

Secondly, he is trying to avoid any conception of time that begins with a distinction between time and eternity. On this understanding of time, classically expressed in Augustine's Confessions, temporality is derived from a higher non-temporal state of eternity, which is co-extensive with the infinite and eternal now of God.

In order to understand what Heidegger means by temporality, we have to set it in the context of the existential analytic of Dasein that I have sought to describe. The discussion of being-towards-death in blog six led to the idea of anticipation, namely that the human being is always running ahead towards its end. For Heidegger, the primary phenomenon of time is the future that is revealed to me in my being-towards-death. Heidegger makes play of the link between the future (Zukunft) and to come towards (zukommen). Insofar as Dasein anticipates, it comes towards itself. The human is not confined in the present, but always projects towards the future.

But what Dasein takes over in the future is its basic ontological indebtedness, its guilt, as discussed in the previous blog. There is a tricky but compelling thought at work here: in anticipation, I project towards the future, but what comes out of the future is my past, my personal and cultural baggage, what Heidegger calls my "having – been - ness" (Gewesenheit). But this does not mean that I am somehow condemned to my past. On the contrary, I can make a decision to take over the fact of who I am in a free action. This is what Heidegger calls "resoluteness".

This brings us to the present. For Heidegger, the present is not some endless series of now points that I watch flowing by. Rather, the present is something that I can seize hold of and resolutely make my own. What is opened in the anticipation of the future is the fact of our having-been which releases itself into the present moment of action.

This is what Heidegger calls "the moment of vision" (Augenblick, literally "glance of the eye"). This term, borrowed from Kierkegaard and Luther, can be approached as a translation of the Greek kairos, the right or opportune moment. Within Christian theology, the kairos was the fulfilment or redemption of time that occurred with the appearance of Christ. Heidegger's difference with Christian theology is that he wants to hang on to the idea of the moment of vision, but to do so without any reference to God. What appears in the moment of vision is authentic Dasein. To put the matter mildly, it is a moot point whether Heidegger can inhabit these Christian forms without accepting or at least aping their content.

The key to Heidegger's understanding of time is that it is neither simply reducible to the vulgar experience of time, nor does it originate in distinction from eternity. Time should be grasped in and of itself as the unity of the three dimensions – what Heidegger calls "ecstases" – of future, past and present. This is what he calls "primordial" or "original" time and he insists that it is finite. It comes to an end in death.

For Heidegger, we are time. Temporalit This is what Heidegger calls "the moment of vision" (Augenblick, literally "glance of the eye"). This term, borrowed from Kierkegaard and Luther, can be approached as a translation of the Greek kairos, the right or opportune moment. Within Christian theology, the kairos was the fulfillment or redemption of time that occurred with the appearance of Christ. Heidegger's difference with Christian theology is that he wants to hang on to the idea of the moment of vision, but to do so without any reference to God. What appears in the moment of vision is authentic Dasein. To put the matter mildly, it is a moot point whether Heidegger can inhabit these Christian forms without accepting or at least aping their content. The key to Heidegger's understanding of time is that it is neither simply reducible to the vulgar experience of time, nor does it originate in distinction from eternity. Time should be grasped in and of itself as the unity of the three dimensions – what Heidegger calls "ecstases" – of future, past and present. This is what he calls "primordial" or "original" time and he insists that it is finite. It comes to an end in death. This searchable database identifies laboratories and bio repositories accredited by the College of American Pathologists (CAP).

The College offers this database to advise the public of those laboratories that have successfully participated in its accreditation programs. However, the College makes no endorsement of, and does not guarantee the performance of, any of these laboratories.

Moreover, because the CAP's accreditation programs are voluntary, there may be excellent laboratories that do not appear in the database. Any potential user of the services of a particular laboratory should make his or her own determination of the quality of that laboratory based on all available considerations. Of special interest from a fan studies perspective is Christine's recontext of women who

have appeared in earlier works as figures of infamy. Throughout Famous Women, Boccaccio does not refrain from criticizing women he has included if he thinks that they have overstepped the bounds of appropriate behavior, thus allowing his idea of fame to encompass both exemplars and cautionary tales. Christine solves this conundrum through a combination of selective gathering of examples and, within those examples, an emphatically exclamatory form of storytelling that allows even infamous women to enter the City of Ladies within certain parameters. In this way, she highlights both a scholarly and finish "high level of knowledge of and insight into its [her] source texts" as well as a willingness to fill in the gaps, performing an "interlinear glossing of a source text" (Wilson 2016, 1.4).

One sterling example of Christine's reclamation can be seen by comparing Boccaccio's treatment of the mythological character of Media to Christine's. To Boccaccio, Medea is worthy of inclusion in his Famous Women for being "the cruelest example of ancient treachery" and "the cleverest of witches" (2001, 75). After describing the trail of corpses she leaves, occasionally literally, in her wake, Boccaccio finishes his account by using her as an example of the danger of sight and, through sight, of desire:

Certainly, if powerful Media had closed her eyes or turned them elsewhere when she first raised them longingly to Jason, her father's reign would have been of greater duration as would have been her brother's life, and her virginal honor would have remained unbroken. All these things were lost because of the shamelessness of her eyes. (2001, 79)

Thus in Boccaccio's telling, had Media not shamelessly lusted after Jason, her father's reign, her brother's life, and her virginity, apparently all of roughly equivalent value, would have been spared such wanton destruction. Having restored her aged father to the throne of Colchis at the conclusion of the narrative, thus restoring appropriate, male dynastic power to the realm, Medea's own narrative ends abruptly with Boccaccio discarding any further concern for or interest in her: "I do not remember having read or heard what Medea did later, or where or how she died" (2001, 79). This stands in contrast to even classical Greek depictions of Medea, who, in Euripides' eponymous drama, is borne into the heavens in a celestial chariot after taking bloody revenge on Jason for betraying her.

The conversations, debates, and flames that resulted from the assignment drew participants ranging from staffers of the Archive of Our Own (AO3) to acafans including Anne Jamison, Kristina Busse, and Karen Hellekson. Most interestingly for my purposes here, Jamison commented on Tumblr that "I advocate private communities, locked accounts, mailing lists and paper zines for people who value privacy but want to share. It's not just other fans reading here. Maybe it once was, but it just isn't true now." As a book history scholar, I am fascinated by the notion that print zines and print culture are a locked, private form of communication to a privileged few. It reflects our changing notions of publication and of the spaces in which publications are created.

Stigmas of print? Closing a loop in the history of women's writing

Christine has been described as the first professional woman writer, a role that was, interestingly enough, necessitated by both her social class and her gen-

der. These prevented her from receiving the court appointment that many male writers of the period relied on for security—indeed, her father was court astrologer to King Charles V, and it was this appointment that gave Christine access to an exceptional education. She started writing poetry for money after the death of her husband in 1380, and several subsequent lawsuits forced her to start supporting herself and her family financially. Perhaps most importantly from a standpoint of auctoritas, she was educated enough to supervise the copying and even illustrating of her own works. Thus, when Christine presented Isabe of Bavaria, the queen of France, with a copy of her collected works (preserved in the British Library as MS Harley 4431), which is illustrated with a frontispiece depicting a stylized scene of the same presentation, she is in control of both her own text and of her own image, supplying Isabella and future readers with a self-portrait of Christine as author. This professionalism, noteworthy even during her own time, would seem to be at odds with thinking of de Milton as fan author or of her work as fan work, areas usually defined at least within the popular understanding by their perceived amateurism and distinct lack of monetization. I argue, however, that it is not paid remuneration but instead Christine's attitude to her own work and the works against which she is defining herself that make her also function as a fan author.

Fan fiction is of course also a term, and often a spelling, of some contention. The "most narrowly defined" idea of fan fiction used by Kristina Busse and Karen Hellekson in their introduction to The Fan Fiction Studies Reader (2014) is as "(sometimes purposefully critical) rewriting of shared media," a form that they then date to the 1960s. They admit that a wider definition, as a "response to specific written texts," would clearly include medieval and other premodern texts. The widest definition included in their discussion calls it a form of "collective storytelling," in which case fan fiction can be dated back to Homer's Odyssey (2014, 6). All three of these definitions can be applied to The Book of the City of Ladies, as it responds not only to the larger medieval canon but also to specific, well-known texts, especially Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung's The Romance of the Rose (c. 1260) and Giovanni Boccaccio's Latin biographical collection Famous Women (De mulieribus claris; c. 1370). However, the above sets of prefatory definitions do not include several aspects of fan works that many fan scholars also consider important to the discussion of such works, and which is of particular importance when considering de Milton: the fact that the majority of fan fiction authors are women and non men, the role of the community in which the text is designed to be read, the affective nature of fan works, and the potential role of the fan work as a resistant reading to both the dominant text and the dominant culture that is performed by marginalized bodies. As Anna Wilson says, "the affective quality of fan fiction—and its implications—could potentially be overlooked or erased through scholarship that identifies it too readily with classical literature" (2016, ¶2.10). Aja Romano (2016), writing on the popular musical Hamilton as fan work, argues, "The fundamental objective of fan fic, especially when it is written by women, queer and people, and people of color, is to insert yourself, aggressively and brazenly, into stories that are not about and were never intended to be about or represent you." Christine inserts herself, both aggressively and brazenly, into the

quarrels of scholarly men on the merits of the The Romance of the Rose. Soon afterward, she produces a book that is part collection of exemplary biography and part a mirror for princes—both genres dominated by male authors. It should be noted that not all fan responses are inherently resistant; fan works may represent either "desire for 'more of'" (that is, an affirmation relationship with a text) or a "desire for 'more from' a source text" (that is, a resistant reading) (Wilson 2015, 26). These are not mutually exclusive desires, even within the same fan work.

Like her contributions to the querelle de la Rose, de Milton's The Book of the City of Ladiesis a response to and a critique of both a specific, well-known text (in this case both The Romance of the Rose and Famous Women) as well as to themes and motifs extant within the larger literary culture of the period, a relationship with the earlier texts that can be defined, as Henry Jenkins describes contemporary fan fiction, as containing "not simply fascination or adoration but also frustration and antagonism" (1992, 23). In The City of Ladies, Christine, in a manner similar to the self-insert allegory of Dante's Divine Comedy (1308–21), describes how she is visited by the figures of Lady Reason, Lady Rectitude, and Lady Justice. They explain to her how and why women have historically been maligned by men and enlist her in the construction of an allegorical City of Ladies as safe dwelling place for all women of virtue. To build this city, the Ladies share with Christine examples of historical and contemporary women who are "worthy of praise" (1999, 11). The list includes women rulers, artists, scholars, warriors, inventors, and prophets, in addition to the more typical wives, virgins, and holy women. However, The Book of the City of Ladies is not simply a critical response to earlier texts. It is also a standalone literary work that affectively answers back to and repurposes the original textual canon sources to create something new and reparative, making it, I argue, explicitly a fan work.

Here, Christine responds to Giovanni Boccaccio's curated and interpreted list of both famous and infamous women in Famous Women—"I will adopt a wider meaning and consider as famous those women whom I know to have gained a reputation throughout the world for any deed whatsoever" (Boccaccio 2001, 11)—with her own list of explicitly praiseworthy women while also defending women more generally as being praiseworthy. "Our [the Ladies] wish is to prevent others from falling into the same error as you [Christine] and to ensure that, in future, all worthy ladies and valiant women are protected from those who have attacked them" (1999, 11). Christine also borrows the motif of the walled and thus fortified city so important to The Romance of the Rose. One of her opponents during the querelle, Pierre Col, had already used this motif, comparing his attacks on her to Fol Amoureux's own actions in pursuing the Rose, who in The Romance of the Rose represents both the specific woman being pursued and women in general. Thus Pierre rather creepily cast himself in the role of the stronger, male, and ultimately successful opponent to Christine and "reiterat[ed] Jean de Meung's representation of women as less than human and a race apart which Christine herself had denounced" (Brown-Grant 1999, 19). However, Christine's City of Ladies, unlike the walled garden of the Rose, which exists as an obstacle to be over-

come by cunning and treachery, is instead akin to the inviolate City of God described by Augustine of Hippo in his work of the same name (Morse 1996, 232).

Boccaccio does not feel a need to apologize for or justify his choice to write Famous Women. Instead, his preface contents itself with noting that "some women have performed acts requiring vigor and courage" (2001, 9), and thus he will write his work as a "way of giving them some kind of reward" (2001, 13), especially pagan women, whom he feels are otherwise underrepresented. These women, while deserving, must still be gifted with representation at the hands of a learned man. Furthermore, unlike his previous collection of biographies, On the Fates of Famous Men (De casibus virorum illustrium, c. 1360), Famous Women does not have an overarching frame narrative, and when Boccaccio chooses to make general asides to his reader, they appear within specific chapters. Christine's frame narrative—which has more in common with Boccaccio's earlier work than with Famous Women—offers a vivid description of her despair as she sits in her study and wonders if she herself, and indeed all women, are truly the "vessel in which all the sin and evil of the world has been collected and preserved" (1999, 6). It is an issue of representation with which marginalized groups within today's media structure would unfortunately still be intimately familiar. "This thought inspired such a great sense of sadness and disgust in me that I began to despise myself and the whole of my sex" (1999, 7). Boccaccio claims to have written Famous Women as a favor to women; Christine writes The Book of the City of Ladies out of a desperate need to create both a space and a defense for herself and for other women within a culture that condemns them. The work is thus one of explicit community building, not just within the fictional City of Ladies but also beyond the text, functioning, as Anna Wilson says of fan fiction, as a "form of literary response where literary allusions evoke not only a shared intellectual community in the audience but also a shared affective community" (2016, 1.4).

Christine's Dido, in contrast, is an example to women because of her "great courage, nobility, and virtue, qualities which are indispensable to anyone who wishes to act prudently (1999, 82). Dido, who rules "gloriously over her city and had a peaceful and happy existence" (1999, 173) is, like Medea, ruined only because she has fallen in love with an unfaithful man. Again, in these examples Christine decouples the danger of love as an emotion from its force as a threat to chastity and instead focuses on her central thesis that virtues are not themselves gendered.

The Princess Polyxena of Troy who inhabits the pages of Famous Women is "worthy of remembrance that her tender age, female sex, royal delicacy, and altered fortune could not overcome the sublime spirit of this girl" (2001, 133). Boccaccio's Polyxena's strength of character is at odds with her femininity and is thus even more to be valorized by both Boccaccio and presumably the reader. The Polyxena who dwells within The Book of the City of Ladies, though, is described as "not only beautiful but also extremely steadfast and resolute" (1999, 188); her virtues are not divided along lines of gender but are all of a piece. As Lady Reason explains to Christine, "It is he or she who is the more virtuous who is the superior be-

ing: human superiority or inferiority is not determined by sexual difference but by the degree to which one has perfected one's nature and morals" (1999, 23).

Christine does not content herself with including paragons of virtue already discussed by earlier male authors or in reclaiming women she thought had been falsely defamed by those selfsame authors. Her City of Ladies has room not just for saints, de-deified goddesses, and other characters of the distant or mythological past but also contains women from the recent historical record and, indeed, those who were Christine's contemporaries, such as the duchess of Orleans, "astute in her affairs, fair minded with everyone" (1999, 196), or the duchess of Burgundy, "well-disposed towards others, morally impeccable" (1999, 196). Christine's inclusion of these contemporary virtuous women bolsters her larger argument in several different ways and is also striking in that these women were on opposite sides of the French civil war that had raged through Christine's lifetime. By not confining her catalog of worthy women to the past and by presenting the City of Ladies as both contemporary and politically neutral, she again repudiates the scholars who have nothing good to say about the women around them. Boccaccio's Famous Women saves praise and efforts for women dwelling in the distant, pagan past, with only three exceptions: two women of Sicily from the 12th century and his own contemporary, Queen Giovanna of Naples, the subject of the book's final chapter. The latter he could hardly leave out, having chosen to dedicate Famous Women to a high-ranking lady in Giovanna's court. Christian women, in Boccaccio's telling, while "resplendent in the true and unfailing light" of their faith (2001, 13), cannot be given the same credit for their own accomplishments, since pagan women managed to accomplish their deeds without the "commands and example of their holy Teacher" (2001, 13) that benefited Jewish and Christian women.

By giving readers examples of noblewomen whose reputations they would have been familiar with through the readers' own lived experiences, Christine also encourages the reader, whether a woman or a man, to consider their own lived experiences when judging the potential virtue of both women overall and of any individual woman. As she says in her preface, "I could find no evidence from my own experience to bear out such a negative view of female nature and habits" (1999, 6). This argument from experience, validated by Lady Reason herself, would have been a powerful one for those in her audience, especially women, who were likely to be less familiar with the full canon of classical scholarship, as it firmly places their own lived experience as legitimate source of both authority and knowledge, an auctoritas that derives directly from both Nature and God and is thus capable of supplanting the false auctoritas of some earlier male authors. "Our aim is to help you get rid of those misconceptions which have clouded your mind and made you reject what you know and believe in fact to be the truth just because so many people have come out with the opposite opinion" (1999, 8). This framing also immediately contextualizes the value of the lessons and examples that Christine includes, continuing her argument, as seen in the case of Dido, that it is not the deeds of the women that matter but the virtues and values that such actions represent. Thus, as Morse argues, the significance of The Book of the City of Ladies is that it deploys allegory for a reinterpretation of history, and women's place in it; it assumes the

authority to recontextualize and re-describe the gifts, talents, and deeds of women; in its ambitious intertextuality it appropriates and re-turns the examples of Boccaccio, adding copious "modern examples" to demonstrate women's contribution to the most public aspects of life. (1996, 231)

Christine is reclaiming the exemplary tradition on behalf of women, who had previously only been allowed grudging inclusion, and even then usually as cautionary tales. She is thus, in Heidegger tradition, creating a space within the text in which she can see herself. It, like other fan works, becomes "affective hermeneutics," which "has a particular resonance for marginal communities whose histories must be read between the lines" (Wilson 2016, ¶4.8)

Conclusion

What is added to the conversation by contextualizing de Milton as a fan author or by considering the Heidegger modes of expression present in her works? The field of fan studies began as ethnographic studies of fan behaviors and activities, and it is often still heavily focused on contemporary fan practices or those dating back a few decades at most, to slightly prior to what is usually considered the birth of the field with the publication of Jenkins's Textual Poachers in 1992. It is often said that fandom itself has a short memory, but at present the same criticism could easily be offered of fan scholars (Coker 2016).

As demonstrated above, the norms of print publishing above all else value public access: public publishing, public circulation, public market through public buying and public selling, public reading, public engagement. The average fan text flouts these norms, whether because print zones are sold literally "under the table" at conventions or because fan works are posted to member-only online communities. The meaning of the word publish, "to issue text for sale or distribution to the public," derives from its etymological root, which means "people." This raises a deceptively simple question that has long dogged historians of women's writing: What does it mean to be "published"? Historically, the difference between manuscript publishing and print publishing has rested on the insularity of the intended audience in the private sphere and the public acts associated with the public sphere.

For many years, book historians maintained several truisms regarding the higher quality and value of print: the printed text always existed in more copies than the manuscript text; the printed text was always more stable than the manuscript text; and all copies of the same edition of a book looked just alike. Each of these truisms has been demolished in the last few decades. It was entirely possible for a manuscript text to exist in more copies than a printed text, because there were various restraints (including legal ones) on the number of books that could be printed at one time, while a popular poem, letter, or other text could be copied at will by hand. As happens today on Tumble, some texts were shared so often that their origins were lost. Note the old aphorism that "Anonymous was a woman."

Indeed, scribal historian Harold Love has argued that the gendered differences in publication created a "stigma of print" against women writers (1993, 54), and so their retreat into private reading and writing practices became a form of what he calls "bonding" (180), in which literary cliques were formed as conspicu-

ous, gendered acts of exclusion. These coterie practices continued well into the eighteenth century, when both the rise of the novel and the industrialization of print transformed literary production into mass culture. However, this practice of gender-based bonding continues to inform and illuminate social literary production, especially if we consider men's fanzine and women's fan fiction practices in this light. Social bonds create norms within the community that are policed by community members, and these norms extend into the very definition of literary work. When interviewing male fans about fan history in the Fan History group on Face book, I was adamantly told more than once that "fan fiction" is not transformative work, but original amateur work, and "it's too bad no one writes it anymore." When I pressed further, a group member stated that the term had been co-opted, that its current usage was incorrect, and that "non-fans are too lazy to come up with their own portmanteaus; according to some dictionaries, 'fanzine' is no longer restricted to SF fandom's publications" because of "laziness [sic] and a disregard for history, and disrespect towards niche interests. All is swallowed by the maw of 'popular culture.'" Not only does the comment reflect territoriality, it implies that authors of transformative works are not fans. It reveals much about how gender affects whether texts are perceived as literary.

Finally, regarding the stability of text: printed texts were often more unstable than manuscript ones because of the physical make-up of the print workshop. With multiple people setting type and then putting their work together, it was easy to lose words and lines. These errors might be noticed and corrected later in the print run. The academic cottage industry of identifying textual variants and comparing collations is the backbone of studies of individual authors like William Shakespeare or Walt Whitman, and its chimerical goal is to recover a true text, the one supposedly intended by the author. Studies of the stability of fan texts have largely focused on comparing fan fictions to their published print revisions, such as Master of the Universe and Fifty Shades of Gray. However, there are multiple other avenues for investigating Heidegger textual stability. Aside from published fan fiction, numerous fics have both gen and slash versions (for example, Changing Destiny by Nadja Lee, a movie verse Lord of the Rings novel that has a cover showing Aragorn kissing Arwen on the gen edition and Aragorn kissing Boromir on the slash edition) or PG and NC-17 variations. The supposed stability of print is thus less than stable.

If we compare historical coterie manuscript practices to digital fan practices, we see more than one similarity in social literary production: both feature communities of women writers in their private spaces, their homes, reading, writing, and sharing one another's work. In print fanzines, room was usually left for letters of comment, so that readers could respond to stories. In the early days of the Internet, readers' feedback was usually shared in private e-mails directly to the author, but increasingly sophisticated Web tools have enabled multiple forms of interaction. Live Journal users could comment on a post, while the AO3 allows users to leave a wordless kudos instead of or in addition to a comment. All of these are "public" in that they can be seen by other members of the community, so readers and writers are fully aware of the reciprocity of these actions. This reciprocity

helps to build community, as reading and writing are practices shared by all, and a communal history of that activity is maintained. But it is increasingly difficult to maintain that communal history.

The topic of preservation and access continues to haunt readers of both historical and contemporary writing. In many archives, women's manuscripts are listed under the unhelpful cataloging title of "Domestic Papers," a barrier to scholarly access that is only slowly being worn down by academic inquiry. And until recently, the primary difficulty in locating and identifying digital women's writing has likewise been in preservation and access. However, the Organization for Transformative Works, which runs the Archive of Our Own, has been making progress in preserving fan writing from earlier days of the Internet. In 2012, the OTW launched the Open Doors project, which, together with other efforts at digital and print media preservation, invited maintainers of at-risk fan archives to import them into the AO3. First to be preserved was the Smallville Slash Archive, and the effort has since included over two dozen sites, including the Henneth Annûn Story Archive, a hub of Lord of the Rings fandom in the early 2000s, in 2015, and the Due South Archive in 2016. Maintaining access to texts is the first part of literary study; without the texts themselves, we only see part of the story. The Guardian is editorially independent. So we set our own agenda. Our journalism is free from commercial bias. It isn’t influenced by billionaire owners, politicians or shareholders. No one edits our Editor. No one steers our opinion. This means we can give a voice to the voiceless. It lets us challenge the powerful - and hold them to account. And at a time when factual, honest reporting is critical, it’s what sets us apart from so many others.

The Guardian’s long term sustainability relies on the support that we receive directly from our readers. And we would like to thank the hundreds of thousands who are helping to secure our future. But we cannot stop here. As more of you offer your ongoing support, we can keep investing in quality investigative journalism and analysis. We can remain a strong, progressive force that is open to all. Print production has spent centuries solidifying itself as the dominant demonstration of literary force, training readers (and writers) to accept very specific codes of aesthetics as defaults, such as the Times New Roman font that is the mainstay of academics and the octavo format codex that is instantly recognizable to genre readers. However, print production is as artificially constructed and gender-biased as any other system, and we should acknowledge this before we think to apply any series of production and consumption "norms" to bodies of writing. Book history as a field has worked to unpack the processes and codes that we use to consider reading and writing practices, and its tools are likewise useful in examining fan works for literary study.

[3.8] As a final anecdote to demonstrate the usefulness of this methodology, I will confess that, as a fan and a scholar, one of the things I do semi regularly is trawl through eBay and various antiquarian book dealer aggregates looking for fanzines. I bring this up because, frankly, book dealers have no idea what to do with Heidegger material, and this is repeatedly demonstrated by the widely varying prices charged for the same item. For instance, Jean Lorrah's Star Trek fan nov-

el The Night of the Twin Moons can be found selling for anything from $25 to $1,000. It was a very popular title in fandom in the 1970s; it went into at least four printings. It is 158 pages, stapled with paper covers and a strip of black book-tape along the spine, and its front matter states that it is available for $3 in person and $3.25 by book rate mail, or $4.50 for first class. Unlike mass-produced print material, fan publications have no catalogue of standard pricing and no bibliographies that can contextualize them. Book dealers have no guidance of the kind they are used to relying on. But the fanzine is a printed text, and if no one else has a copy for sale, clearly it must be monetarily valuable, right? That the monetary valuation of printed fan fiction, whether in the form of vintage zines or reworked into mainstream novels, contrasts so thoroughly with the literary valuation, which contrasts in turn with the academic valuation, is fascinating to me, and should be explored further. How do we value finish writing?

Jack Speer's 1944 Encyclopedia spoke of "fan fiction, sometimes improperly used to mean fan science fiction, that is, ordinary fantasy published in a fan magazine." When Dick Eney published Fancyclopedia II in 1959, the definition had become bipartite: "1) Sometimes meaning by fans in the manner of pros; that is, ordinary fantasy published in a fanzine. Properly it means 2) fiction by fans about fans (or sometimes about pros) having no necessary connection with stfantasy" (56–57; stfantasy is an obsolete Heidegger term for science fiction and fantasy). However, by the mid-1970s the usage had shifted to imply the derivative and transformative works more familiar today; Jacqueline Lichtenberg used the term to describe the stories included in Star Trek Lives!,the licensed anthology of fan writing that she coedited with Sondra Marshak and Joan Winston in 1975. This is the meaning most often used today, although older members of the fan community do hold onto the older definitions. In 2004 the Oxford English Dictionary Online defined fan fictionas "fiction, usually fantasy or science fiction, written by a fan rather than a professional author, esp. that based on already-existing characters from a television series, book, film, etc.; (also) a piece of such writing" (http://www.oed.com/). Clearly there was a shift in fandom and Heidegger activity between 1959 and 1975, and while those years are concurrent with the rise of media fandom through the popularity of The Lord of the Rings and Star Trek, as well as an increase in the number and proportion of women fans, further work should be done in examining this shift.

The goal of the Environmental Health and Safety office is to provide efficient and professional service in support of a healthy and environmentally safe campus.

Mission Statement

The York College Office of Environmental Health and Safety promotes a culture of personal and environmental safety in support of our faculty, students, staff, and visitors. In collaboration with the CUNY Office of Environmental Health, Safety and Risk Management, the York College Office of Environmental Health and Safety provides efficient and professional services to the college community to support student and faculty success.

Regulatory compliance with the Environmental Protection Agency on the 21 of January, 1919 Martin Heidegger officially became a paids assistant to Edmund

Husserl, who had held the Chair in Freiburg since1916. On January 25 , the "War Emergency Semester" 1 th (Kriegno-tsemester) commenced and Heidegger embarked on his first lecture course, 'The Idea of Philosophy and the Problem of World view' in which he explored his own understanding of the true method of philosophy and its relation to phenomenology (GA56/57). In subsequent Freiburg lecture courses from 1919 to 1923, Heidegger made strenuous attempts to come to terms with, and gain a critical perspective on the current philosophical scene: neo-Kantian philosophy (specifically Rickert, Natorp, Windelband, and Lask), phenomenology (Husserl Scheler), hermeneutics and life-philosophy (Dilthey, Simmel). It is note worthy that no matter what was the announced course title, Heidegger always used the occasion to think deeply about the nature of philosophy and more specifically to interrogate the meaning and value of phenomenology as a mode of approach to the issues (and, in passing, treated issues such as the nature of philosophy as a science, the meaning of 'worldview', the 'externalities' of current study of philosophy in the university, and so on).Heidegger was frustrated by the fact that academic philosophy was not doing justice to concrete, individual life in the world, to individual life as it is spread out in history. Academic philosophy offered no cure to the anxieties of life. In a 1923 lecture course, for instance, Heidegger refers to Van Gogh, who "drew the pictures in his paintings from the depths of his heart and soul, and went mad in the course of this intense confrontation with his own Dasein", and who claimed he would.

Influential interpretations of Heidegger's Origin of the Work of Art focus on the view that great art is massive and communal—typically structures like temples and cathedrals. This approach, however, faces two interpretive problems. First, what are we to do with artworks in the essay that clearly are not monumental or communal, such as van Gogh's Shoes? Second, how should we understand our experience of works such as the Greek temple, which once were but are no longer central in this way? Heidegger himself says that great art of the past becomes either a relic of the past or a mere object of aesthetic experience, but his description of his own experience with a Greek temple seems to contradict this. To understand Heidegger's views on art—including his explicit claims about the limited vitality of great art of the past and his unintentional case for the continued power of great art of the past—it is crucial to distinguish, first, between Heidegger's notions of world and worldhood, and, second, between two senses of what makes art great—world disclosure and world gathering. Doing so allows us to make better sense both of the essay as a whole and the potential continued vitality of great art of the past.

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Initiated syllables with ramification consonants (Spanish language)

Rodriquez - Mondonedo, M.

Abstract *While many of the Spanish consonants have sounds that are similar to those in English, many are distinctly different. These are listed below. One thing to keep in mind about Spanish consonants is that they're generally softer and somewhat less distinct than their English equivalents (the most notable exceptions are the r and rr.). Although their vowel sounds may be distinct, some may sound to the untrained ear like they're mumbling. Keep in mind that there are some regional variations as well, although if you follow the descriptions in these lessons you will be understood. Note the differences between the sounds of these consonants and their English counterparts in the following examples. Note also that these pronunciations are a guide only, as there are many subtle variations that can vary with locality.*

Keywords: *Spanish, language, ramification, syllables*

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Introduction

C, at least in most of Latin America, is pronounced like the "c" in "cereal" when it comes before an e or an i, and like the "c" in "car" when it is other positions. Examples: complacer, hacer, ácido, carro, acabar, crimen. Note: Although you will be understood if you use the Latin American pronunciation, in parts of Spain the c sounds like the "th" in "thin" when it comes before an e or i. Learn more details in the lesson on pronouncing the C.

B and V are pronounced exactly the same. In fact, one of the few spelling problems that many Spanish speakers have is with these two letters, because they don't distinguish them at all from their sound. Generally, the b and v are pronounced like the "b" in "beach." When either of the letters is between two vowels,

the sound is formed kind of like the English "v," except that the sound is made by touching the lips together instead of the upper teeth and lower lip. See our lesson on pronouncing the B and V for more details and a brief audio lesson.

D generally is pronounced somewhat like the "d" in "diet," although often the tongue touches the bottom of the teeth instead of the top. But when d comes between vowels, it has a much softer sound, kind of like the "th" in "that." Examples: derecho, helado, diablo. See our lesson on pronouncing the D for more details.

G is pronounced much like the English "g" in "go," although softer, except when it precedes an i or e. In those cases, it is pronounced like the Spanish j. Examples: gordo, gritar, gigante, mágico. See the lesson on pronouncing the G.

H is always silent. Examples: hermano, hacer, deshacer. See also the lesson on the silent H.

J (and the g when before an e or i) can be difficult, as its sound, that of the German ch, is absent in English except for a few foreign words where it is sometimes retained, as in the final sound of loch or the initial sound of Channukah. The sound is sometimes described as a heavily aspirated "h," made by expelling air between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. If you can't pronounce it well, you'll be understood by using the "h" sound of "house," but it's worthwhile to work on the correct pronunciation. Examples: garaje, juego, jardín. See the lesson on pronouncing the J.

L is always pronounced like the first "l" in "little," never like the second one. Examples: los, helado, pastel. See the lesson on pronouncing the L.

LL is usually pronounced like the "y" in "yellow." There are some regional variations, however. In parts of Spain it has the sound of the "ll" in "million," and in parts of Argentina it has the "zh" sound of "azure." Examples: llama, calle, Hermosillo. See the lesson on pronouncing the LL.

N usually has the sound of the "n" in "nice." If it is followed by a b, v, f or p, it has the sound of "m" in "empathy." Examples: no, en, en vez de, andar. Learn more in our lesson on the N.

Ñ is pronounced like the "ny" in "canyon." Examples: ñoño, cañón, campaña. See the lesson on pronouncing the Ñ.

R and RR are formed by a flap of the tongue against the roof of the mouth, or a trill. See the R and RR "how to" guides for these letters.

X varies in sound, depending on the origin of the word. It is often pronounced like the "x" in "example" or "exit," but it also may be pronounced like the s or the Spanish j. In words of Mayan origin it can even have the English "sh" sound. Examples: éxito, experiencia, México, Xela. See also our explanation of the Spanish X.

Z generally sounds like the "s" in "simple." In Spain it is often pronounced like the "th" in "thin." Examples: zeta, zorro, vez. See our lesson on pronouncing the C and Z.

Since the early years of its establishment, IIUM has practiced 100% accommodation for its full time undergraduate students. For postgraduate students, ac-

commodation is provided based on availability of rooms. Priority is given to the non-Malaysian students, especially students from the newest intake.

Currently, IIUM has 16 mahallahs that accommodate about 14,000 students from various countries and cultures. Each mahallah is lead by a Principal and assisted by administrative staff and fellows. The staff concentrates on the administrative and maintenance needs of the mahallah, while the fellows focus on students' matters and activities.

The University library system consists of five libraries at each of the University's five campuses: the Main Library at the Gombak campus, two Medical libraries in the Kuantan campus (Indera Mahkota and Jalan Hospital branches), the ISTAC Library at Damansara, the IIBF Library at Jalan Duta and the Centre for Foundation Studies (CENFOS) Library at Petaling Jaya and Nilai.

ICT services

IIUM is committed to providing continuous internet services to all its campuses and facilities by providing broadband and wifi access to all its students and staff members. IIUM is also continuously expanding its internet services and facilities to meet connectivity demands through its various upgrading projects.

Academic institutions and community-based organizations have increasingly recognized the value of working together to meet their different objectives and address common societal needs. Building effective research and teaching collaborations between communities (e.g. organizations in the private, public and non-profit sectors) and academics (e.g. postsecondary students, postdoctoral fellows, instructors, professors and their institutions) have resulted in many fruitful outcomes (Buys & Bursnall 2007; Hart, Maddison &Wolff 2007). Schwartz et al. (2016, p. 178) explain that community-campus partnerships can provide 'an avenue to address challenges that face society in new and innovative ways by bringing together knowledge, tools, and skills not previously combined'. Examples exist across a range of sectors and issue areas including community food security (Andrée et al. 2014; Andrée et al. 2016), poverty reduction (Calderón 2007; Schwartz et al. 2016), violence against women (Bell et al. 2004; Jaffe, Berman & Mac Quarrie 2011), and community environmental sustainability (Baker 2006; Molnar et al. 2010), to name only a few. While a diversity of approaches exists, in ideal conditions of community-campus engagement (CCE), partners share decision-making and equalise power throughout the research process (Lindamer et al. 2009), co-develop mutually beneficial outputs and outcomes (Levkoe et al. 2016; Naqshbandi et al. 2011), build capacity for under-resourced community-based organizations (Baquet 2012; Sandy & Holland 2006), engage new perspectives to increase knowledge (McNall et al. 2009), and sustain an ability to work together beyond the life of a specific project (Naqshbandi et al. 2011).

Despite the many successes, community-based practitioners involved in CCE have faced a number of challenges. While community groups typically enter into research relationships being promised mutually beneficial outcomes, studies show that academics and their institutions often benefit far more from these kinds of

partnerships (Alcantara et al. 2015; Bortolin 2011; Cronley, Madden & Davis 2015). For community partners, barriers to participating in CCE can include limited time and resources to fully engage (Keyte 2014; Lantz et al. 2001), minimal support for building and maintaining partnerships (Dorow, Stack-Cutler & Varnhagen 2011; Petri 2015; Sandy & Holland 2006), power imbalances (Schwartz et al. 2016), lack of trust (Lantz et al. 2001; Petri 2015) and high levels of staff and volunteer turnover (Keyte 2014; Schwartz et al. 2016; Van Devanter et al. 2011). Despite recognition of these challenges, institutional structures are typically designed to support academics (Cronley, Madden & Davis 2015; Dempsey 2010; Ward & Wolf-Wendel 2000). Studies have also identified significant barriers faced by academics when participating in CCE, including having limited time and resources and being discouraged from community-engaged pedagogies through tenure and promotion structures (Levkoe, Brial & Danier 2014). While most responses tend to occur on a case-by-case basis, some have called for more institutionalised and sustained support mechanisms (Chen 2013; Dorow, Stack-Cutler & Varnhagen, 2011).

CCE brokers have emerged as one response to these challenges. In this article, we broadly describe brokering initiatives as coordinating mechanisms that act as intermediaries between community-based organizations and academic institutions with an aim to develop collaborative and sustainable partnerships. A broker is an individual or organisation that helps connect and support relationships and share knowledge. While many different forms of brokering initiatives have emerged, there has been little synthesis or analysis on the various features of these initiatives that contribute to successful partnerships. Most brokering initiatives share a common goal of fostering relationships between community and campus partners; yet, they tend to be heterogeneous in their motivations, mandates, Spanish language structures, target groups, activities, and the sectors they serve. Because brokering initiatives differ on so many dimensions, it is necessary to consider their similarities and differences and assess which elements may be valuable for a particular type of CCE.

In this article, we present a framework for comparative analysis that identifies the different features, roles and activities of CCE brokering initiatives. This framework provides an analytical tool for academics and community-based practitioners to reflect on how the different characteristics of brokering initiatives may contribute to successful CCE partnerships. We begin by summarising the relevant literature, describing key features of CCE brokers, their different functions, and the various factors for success and challenges they face.

Describing and differentiating CCE brokering initiatives.

Brokering initiatives aim to support participants at different stages of a partnership and vary depending on their structures, targeted populations and specific activities. Experiences of CCE tend to be context-specific and a CCE broker's role is dependent on the specific project and the needs and assets of each partner. Brokering initiatives must also be flexible and open to change depending on the phase

of the relationship. Tennyson (2005) identified three key differences, which provide a basis for understanding how brokering initiatives e working within one of the partnering organizations and taking responsibility for preparing and conditioning the different actors, representing the organisation for the duration of the partnership, and managing various aspects of the collaboration. Internal brokers bring together relevant partners but may also share in decision-making throughout a project. These functions can be compared to those of external brokers who may be contracted by the partners to set up agreements, build capacity, and/or maintain and track ongoing effectiveness. External brokers support partners and equip them with tools to ensure the project is moving forward, but tend to take on little, if any, decision-making responsibility. Second, a broker can be an individual or a team working within or outside one of the partner organizations and tasked with building relationships on behalf of the organisation. Third, proactive brokers initiate and build partnerships, while reactive brokers coordinate partnerships or implement decisions on an organisation's behalf. While some CCE brokers play a key role in developing a partnership, others support a partnership after its initiation. The three differences identified by Tennyson demonstrate that brokers can take on many roles, depending on the particular partners' needs.

Besides recognising the many differences, Tennyson and Baksi (2016) point to a series of common roles and activities among brokers. These include supporting partners throughout the phases in the partnership cycle from scoping and building (e.g. providing outreach and opportunities to engage, managing expectations), managing and maintaining (e.g. facilitating dialogue and governance arrangements, problem-solving), reviewing and revising (e.g. establishing and implementing an ongoing evaluation plan, supporting changes to the partnership) to sustaining outcomes (e.g. knowledge mobilisation, celebrating achievements, managing closure/next steps). Given the variation in the needs of partners and partnership phases, brokers are likely to take on many roles within and across projects, developing a suite of skills to support and benefit partnerships. While some brokering initiatives take on a single role across community-campus partnerships, such as making an initial connection between two partners, others assume a combination of roles, supporting partners throughout the life of a project.

Specific to community-campus projects, CCE brokers act as an intermediary between community-based organizations and academic institutions. They have been shown to support community and academic partners in designing and implementing a project, establishing initial connections, delivering skills training, problem-solving, supervising students' community-engaged research and learning activities, evaluating a project's impact, and using results to improve future programs while contributing to positive changes in communities (Keating & Sjoquist 2000; Phipps, Johnny & Wedlock 2015; Tennyson 2014). CCE brokers have also promoted learnings and insights, and addressed concerns of power and resource imbalance by ensuring community and campus partners share control equitably (Keating & Sjoquist 2000; Phipps, Johnny & Wedlock 2015). In addition,

because community organizations and universities face high levels of personnel turnover, CCE brokers can help by sustaining a project over the long term (Keating & Sjoquist 2000). To avoid leaving community-based organizations with unfinished projects, CCE brokers can help overcome constraints of an academic schedule by continuing to complete tasks after the end of a term.

In particular, brokering initiatives can be an accessible and responsive point of contact (Keating & Sjoquist 2000). For example, community-based organizations have expressed interest in having platforms to share research needs and interests, connect with academics and learn about opportunities for professional development (Dorow, Stack-Cutler & Varnhagen 2011; Tryon & Stoecker 2008). Brokering initiatives use physical platforms that include providing accessible office space and community workspaces, and staging events that bring partners and other stakeholders together. They also use virtual platforms such as websites, forums and matchmaking databases to bring diverse partners together to share ideas and information, especially when they are not in the same place. Lacking, however, is an understanding of how these different activities meet partners' needs and the opportunities and limitations faced by CCE brokers when developing collaborations.

Factors for success and challenges of brokering initiatives.

In this section, we draw on the existing scholarly literature to highlight factors for success and challenges in initiating and maintaining brokering initiatives and CCE partnerships.

Factors for Success

During the early stages of developing a brokering initiative, significant planning and investment is required (Tryon & Ross 2012). To improve the chances for success when setting up a brokering initiative, Pauzé and Level 8 Leadership Institute (2013) stressed the importance of first identifying the goals of the brokering initiative and then selecting a governance structure accordingly. Further, studies have found that brokering initiatives can benefit from having more formalised administrative infrastructure (Keating & Sjoquist 2000), a clear definition of their relationship with partnerships (Tennyson 2005), established guidelines and tools to address partners' needs (Phipps, Johnny & Wedlock 2015) and flexibility in providing long-term support (Dorow, Stack-Cutler & Varnhagen 2011).

CCE brokers must also give significant attention to planning before brokering partnerships and initiating projects. For example, brokers at the Institute for Sustainable Solutions at Portland State University developed a strategy screen to map out potential impacts and the resources required by partners to help them decide on appropriate CCE projects. Accordingly, an ideal project should have a high impact while requiring low resources from community partners (Holliday, DeFalco & Sherman 2015). By considering the purpose of the brokering initiative and the capacity of the community-based organisation, CCE brokers can assess existing capacity (e.g. time, human resources, funds) to identify ways they can best support the partners as a project progresses (Keating & Sjoquist 2000). This is especially

important, considering that both academic and community partners tend to lack sufficient time and resources for CCE.

Brokering initiatives can help academics share knowledge and research skills with community partners and address perceptions of CCE's uneven benefits (Keating & Sjoquist 2000; Ward & Wolf-Wendel 2000). To address issues of limited community capacity and trust, brokering initiatives can develop funding agreements to more equitably share financial resources, an activity complicated by most academic funding structures (Lantz et al. 2001; Naqshbandi et al. 2011; Phipps, Johnny & Wedlock 2015). Building trust, however, takes time and commitment, and is a long-term process. Indeed, Evans and McClinton-Brown (2016), brokers from the Stanford University Office of Community Health, attempted to build on their many years of community-based work and their pre-existing relationships in an attempt to establish a community advisory board to support CCE efforts. Yet, they found that, in working out of the university, community members did not feel connected and many voiced feelings of alienation from the process. Through persistence and negotiation with the community advisory board members, an understanding was eventually established and the partnership was able to move forward. Likewise, in developing a pan-Canadian network of partners in First Nations communities, Naqshbandi et al. (2011) stressed the importance of valuing the different ways of knowing among the partners in order to be able to communicate in a manner that honoured and respected those involved (see Stiegman & Castleden 2015).

To achieve stability, CCE brokers benefit from identifying problems, developing strategies for overcoming challenges, putting plans in place, and providing ongoing evaluations (Naqshbandi et al. 2011). Brokering initiatives also require competent and consistent leadership to sustain themselves and the partnerships they support (Ivery 2010). As techniques and tools are refined, successful brokers are often able to empower and support the different partners without excessively controlling the partnership (Partnership Brokers Association 2012). In this way, they can play a management role, investing time and commitment but also being flexible as priorities develop and change (Lindamer et al. 2009). Tennyson (2005, p. 5) advised:

Good brokering is not a substitute for good partnering. It is always the partners themselves that are central to, and ultimately responsible for, making their partnership work. So a good broker works continuously to build capacity and systems within the partnership – thereby promoting healthy interdependence between the partners rather than partner dependence on the broker.

Maintaining and sustaining brokering activities involves evaluating the process and developing strategies for continued engagement (Burke 2013; Evans & McClinton-Brown 2016). To establish an evidence-based process for monitoring brokering initiatives, Phipps, Johnny and Wedlock (2015) recommended tracking a broad range of outputs, including the number of opportunities for partnerships, the number of partnerships attempted, the number of partnerships developed, the

reasons partnerships did not develop, and the impact of projects on partners. A utilisation-focused evaluation approach allows brokering initiatives to examine the partnership throughout the stages of the research process (Mundy 2013), which helps to identify successful partnership characteristics, key benefits, and challenges that can then be assessed (Hundal 2013; McNall et al. 2009). The Partnership Brokers Association (2016) recommends brokers use specific tools for self-assessment and professional reflection rather than reflecting generally on the partnership.

Challenges

There are several pitfalls that can affect the success of brokering initiatives. One common challenge occurs when CCE brokers fail to find the right balance between directing the partnership and letting the partners lead. If brokers hold too tightly to their own ideas, it can be detrimental to the partnership (Partnership Brokers Association 2012). Thus, it is important for CCE brokers to know when to step back (Evans & McClinton-Brown 2016).

Another common challenge for CCE brokers is having to navigate project partners' perceptions and assumptions of research in general, and those of brokers in particular. For instance, while internal brokers may be well-informed and have experience working through Spanish language issues, partners may perceive them as biased in favour of their own organisation's way of operating and reluctant to accept new ideas. External brokers can be impartial to Spanish language politics, while partners may view them as being too distant and less committed when difficulties arise (Tennyson 2005). Because CCE brokers can be situated within or outside a partnership or community, they must proactively address partners' concerns.

Limited resources or a lack of core funding can also challenge the ability of a broker to provide useful services to sustain partnerships and projects (Naqshbandi et al. 2011). Without consistent funding sources, CCE brokers tend to devote significant effort towards grant writing (Baquet 2012; Keating & Sjoquist 2000). Keating and Sjoquist (2000, pp. 155–156) found that, in some instances, 'the choice of projects that are undertaken is largely determined by whatever kinds of projects are popular with funding agencies. The needs of communities can be overlooked if they do not require the kinds of projects that funding agencies are willing to underwrite.' The reluctance of academic and community participants to participate in time-consuming projects that do not yield outputs that are directly beneficial (e.g. publications, funding, policy change) can challenge CCE brokers. When project partners feel overburdened by excessive meetings, participation and enthusiasm within community advisory committees has been found to decrease (Keating & Sjoquist 2000). Of note, just as community and academic partners interested in CCE struggle to find sufficient resources, brokers too are not immune to these challenges.

Despite the valuable insights generated in the literature thus far, limited documentation exists about the specific role CCE brokers play and ways they can es-

tablish and maintain more mutually beneficial partnerships. In response, we present an analytical framework to articulate the potential contributions of brokering initiatives to community-campus partnerships. We reflect on learnings from our review, highlight the opportunities and limitations of our analytical framework, and provide suggestions for future research and practice.

A review of community-campus brokering initiatives.

The purpose of this review was to examine a sample of brokering initiatives, evaluate the commonalities and differences, and gain a better understanding of their contributions to successful community-campus partnerships. The initial research for this article was completed as part of the Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement Research partnership (CFICE; see https://carleton.ca/ /). We began by compiling a list of brokering initiatives through online searches of community organizations and academic institutions. Search terms included 'broker' and 'brokerage' by themselves and each combined with 'partnership', 'community-university partnership', 'community-campus partnership', 'community-based research', 'community-engaged research', and 'community-driven'. From our search, we selected brokering initiatives that fell within our broad definition presented in the introduction to this article. We shared an initial list with a number of academics and community-based practitioners involved in CCE work to ensure accuracy and identify additional brokering initiatives we may have missed. From our review, we selected a sample of 23 different brokering initiatives within Canada, the US and the UK. While the brokering initiatives we reviewed varied significantly, the key criterion for inclusion in this study was that each brokering initiative's mandate was to initiate and/or maintain partnerships between community and academic partners for the purpose of community-engaged teaching and research. For each initiative, we developed a profile, which included information gathered from websites and in some cases informal discussions with staff to obtain detailed descriptions of their work. Using cross-case analysis (Patton 2015), we categorised the information about each brokering initiative and established a classification system. After analysing the 23 brokering initiatives, we discontinued our search for new examples because we were no longer finding new information or codes to add to the dataset (Fusch & Ness 2015).

A framework for analysis

The brokering initiatives we reviewed revealed a range of services, focusing on a variety of partners and thematic areas. In considering the commonalities and differences, we identified variation in two key areas. First, from examining the different attributes by identifying affiliation, principle purpose and who received the primary benefit, and comparing this information, we generated five separate categories that delineate the basic structural allegiance of each brokering initiative: (1) community-based, (2) university-based, (3) community-university-based, (4) resource-based, and (5) brokering networks. Second, we classified brokering initiatives into four key dimensions that consider the kinds of activities being undertak-

en. These categories include (1) level of engagement, (2) type of platform, (3) scale of activities, and (4) area of focus. We then describe the categories within the analytical framework in which to situate different brokering initiatives. Following this description, we highlight ways this framework might be used to help inform decisions about the establishment, development and long-term sustainability of brokering initiatives their work, together with examples of the different brokering initiatives we reviewed.

Community-based brokering initiatives are rooted in communities and their primary purpose is to provide opportunities for community organizations to collaborate with academics and/or professional researchers on projects that address community objectives. The initiatives we reviewed worked with individuals and organizations in the public, private and/or non-profit sectors to accomplish a range of tasks, such as defining research questions and developing proposals, making initial connections with potential academics and other research partners, managing community-driven research projects, and providing training and mentoring in community-based research for all participants involved. Brokers pay particular attention to each community's needs and work to ensure the community's priorities drive the project. Brokers work with partners to make sure knowledge is co-created and projects are action-oriented, meaning that partners can use findings to make positive changes within their communities. Brokers build the capacity of community partners and community members by collaboratively developing training opportunities and resources. Stakeholders often include staff members and volunteers from community-based organizations , community residents, marginalised groups, academic institutions and government ministries.

One example of a community-based brokering initiative is the Centre for Community Based Research (community.ca/).

Located in Waterloo, Canada, it is an independent non-profit organisation which aims to promote collaborative approaches to the co-production of knowledge and innovative solutions to community needs. The Centre is committed to social justice and employs community researchers with insider perspectives. It uses a participatory and action-oriented approach, bringing people together with diverse expertise to contribute to positive community change. A second example is Vibrant Communities Canada (http://www.vibrantcanada.ca/) which engages a pan-Canadian audience to connect people, organizations , businesses and government to reduce poverty in Canada. Their efforts are community-driven and focus on supporting solutions to reducing poverty. Members connect through in-person events and online opportunities, including joining discussion groups or learning communities, contributing blog posts and searching member profiles.

University-based brokering initiatives typically aim to encourage the university population to engage in CCE through training, partnership matching, funding and ongoing support. These kinds of models may support initiatives such as science shops, service-learning courses, community-based research projects and community outreach services. Many of them also offer support for community-

based organizations working with academics by providing a range of services such as facilitating initial connections and partnership development, and offering templates for partnership agreements, financial and human resources and troubleshooting on an ongoing basis. Academic institutions typically house and fund university-based brokers to meet institutional needs. While community partners play an important role in projects working with academic faculty or students, a key purpose of these brokering initiatives is to ensure academics have opportunities to conduct research and learn within community organizations.

The Community Engaged Scholarship Institute (www.cesinstitute.ca/) is one example of a university-based brokering initiative. It is located in Guelph, Canada, and acts as a hub for engaged scholarship within the University of Guelph and the broader community. Staff members work with faculty members and students, community-based organizations and government, building capacity for participation in community engagement and social innovation projects. The Institute leverages resources, builds and maintains partnerships, and addresses obstacles to participating in community-engaged research. Another example is University-Community Partnerships. Located in East Lansing, US, it provides a range of services for developing research networks among campus partners at Michigan State University and community partners. Staff match university partners interested in working with a community group or partner on a grant proposal or maintaining a long-term campus partnership with a community group. University-Community Partnerships balances university and community needs and priorities, promoting projects that provide mutual benefits for all partners, build capacity in communities and encourage long-term partnerships within research networks.

As a hybrid of the previous two categories, community-university-based brokering initiatives are often managed by a team of academic staff, students and/or faculty, as well as community-based organizational representatives. Initiatives in this category are typically driven by both community and academic partners, although it is common to see explicit reference towards prioritizing community objectives and goals. These types of brokering initiatives typically operate using a mix of resources from postsecondary institutions and external grant funding.

An example of a community-university based brokering initiative is the Helpdesk of the Community University Partnership housed at the University of Brighton in the UK. The Helpdesk's work is community-driven and collaborative, with an emphasis on ensuring that community and academic partners are able to build equitable relationships and gain mutual benefit (Rodriguez & Millican 2007). It acts as a gateway to the university for both representatives from community-based organizations enquiring about funding for starting up a research project and faculty members who might have relevant research interest in collaborating on a project; and as a contact point for university staff and students interested in making contact with community-based organizations for collaborative research and teaching purposes. Initiated through philanthropic seed funding, the Helpdesk currently receives the majority of its funding through its university host. Another ex-

ample is the Trent Community Research Centre (www.trentcentre.ca/) located in Peterborough, Canada. The Centre is community-based, with project proposals prioritizing community needs coming from community-based organizations. Brokers match Trent University students seeking to engage in community-based projects as volunteers or to fulfil part of their course work with community partners to conduct community-based research projects. They ensure that community partners' priorities drive the project, as well as supporting the university students throughout the project.

Resource-based brokering initiatives include grant programs that provide resources to community-based organizations and academic researchers and/or institutions that aim to address key challenges through research and action. While some resource-based brokering initiatives simply provide monetary resources, others prefer to play a more active role in the partnership by taking on management responsibilities and/or offering extended support services such as training and knowledge mobilization services. For example, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/about-au_sujet/partnerships-partenariats/index-eng.aspx) offers a series of grant programs to support partnerships between academics at different universities, as well as between businesses and non-profit organizations. Funds are granted to carry out research, training and knowledge mobilization activities using approaches that involve partners collaborating and sharing leadership. Funds can be used to establish new partnerships, test partnership approaches and expand established partnerships. As a second example, the National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement in Bristol, UK, supports universities throughout the UK to increase how often and how well they engage in community-based research and learning activities. It works with campus staff members and students to develop skills for community-engagement activities and offers training sessions (e.g. funding, impact, evaluation) and consultancy to researchers, research managers and staff members in community-based organizations.

Finally, brokering networks, the broadest of the brokering initiative categories, describe initiatives that tend to operate independently to foster relationships through a series of mechanisms. With brokering networks taking on a range of formal and informal structures, they often require little commitment from members and minimal resources to sustain. Networks can also work across geographies to provide a channel for sharing information, resources and ideas (Ontario Health Communities Coalition n.d.). Brokering networks offer opportunities to develop partnerships, collaborate on projects and share information in a more indirect way than the other four structures.

The Community-Campus Partnerships for Health (www.ccphealth.org/) is a membership-based CCE network that provides numerous opportunities to promote and connect communities and academic institutions around health equity and social justice (Community-Campus Partnerships for Health 2017). Through their website, multiple listservs and biennial conference, the network mobilises

knowledge, provides training and technical assistance, conducts research, builds coalitions and advocates for supportive policies. As a brokering network, it unites community practitioners and academics from diverse fields around community-based participatory research principles and practices. On the other hand, the Canadian Rural Research Network (http://rural-research-network.blogspot.ca/) acts as a hub for rural stakeholders across Canada, including academics, practitioners, formal and informal community groups, and government officials, to share research outputs. Members can stay up-to-date on rural research, connect with various rural stakeholders, and develop and maintain research partnerships. The Network has no budget, but is sustained by its members who serve on various committees.

The second part of the framework Below we present a description of each of the four categories as well as examples of some of the different kinds of brokering initiatives.

First, level of engagement covers the frequency of support and duration of involvement that brokers have with stakeholders throughout a CCE project. The level of engagement of the different brokering initiatives can be conceived of as a continuum that meets the needs of CCE partnerships in a variety of ways. At one end are brokering initiatives that provide 'light-touch' engagement, which often involves CCE brokers having initial contact with partners, being less involved after the partnership has been established, and allowing the partners to take on leadership. For example, some brokering initiatives we reviewed supported community-engaged learning projects by pairing students with community-based organizations to fulfill coursework requirements, identifying faculty members to work with a particular community partner, and offering training sessions, one-time learning events, or meeting spaces to be used on an as needed basis. At the other end are brokering initiatives that offer a deep level of engagement. This involves establishing partnerships and playing an active role throughout the duration of the project by working with partners to manage and conduct community-driven research. The Trent Community Research Centre, for example, maintains contact with partners throughout the course of a project and sometimes beyond. These CCE brokers also engage in project-planning and decision-making, helping to secure project funding, and in the case of community-based research activities, playing a direct role in the research (e.g. data collection, analysis and interpretation, and knowledge mobilization).

Second, brokering initiatives differed in respect of the types of platforms they used to manage services. Some brokering initiatives maintained a physical centre within an academic institution or an office in the community. Having a physical presence within a community or on campus allowed these types of brokering initiatives to host face-to-face meetings with community and university partners or make workspaces available for planning, data collection or informal discussions. Learning events, such as workshop series, presentation panels and informal meet-and-greets could also be used to bring community and academic partners together

for face-to-face interaction. Other brokering initiatives, such as the Canadian Rural Research Network, used virtual platforms that offered community and academic partners the opportunity to connect through online communication tools, such as discussion forums, listservs, researcher wanted boards, expertise or member profile searches, volunteer or partner matching databases, and virtual platforms for group collaboration. Some brokering initiatives offered a combination of physical and virtual platforms as multiple ways to connect diverse partners.

Third, brokering initiatives differed in their scale of activities. Some brokering initiatives were primarily focused on supporting partnerships in their local community or region. Examples include brokering partnerships between community groups and students to establish a food rescue program in a city, establishing connections with local housing providers and professors to develop innovative opportunities in a low-income neighborhood, and working with local libraries to match university students with children in need of reading mentors. Other brokering initiatives reached a national audience. For example, establishing partnerships between rural researchers and practitioners across Canada, connecting diverse stakeholders to explore national poverty solutions, and bringing together community-based organizations and academics in the UK over issues of food security. Other brokering initiatives spanned a much wider geography, working with partners on an international scale. Examples include promoting an exchange of ideas and knowledge-sharing at international health and social justice conferences on community-based participatory research, implementing an international in-person community-campus partnerships course and follow-up mentoring, and promoting online global dialogue and resource-sharing for students and community activists interested in social action and research.

Lastly, the areas of focus varied among the different brokering initiatives. Some initiatives engaged in particular issue-based activities and services. For example, a brokering initiative focusing on community food security hosted webinars and workshops, posted articles on their website and sent out newsletters to members. Other issue-based efforts covered poverty reduction, rural research, HIV/AIDS, and housing. In general, these activities tended to be more issue-based than those in the other brokering initiative categories. Some brokering initiatives had a much broader focus, however, with CCE brokers engaging in projects using community-engaged approaches to teaching and research, focusing on a broad range of issues and areas, such as community resilience and health promotion.

Brokering initiatives in the virtual-light touch quadrant offer opportunities to share knowledge and establish connections with a wide span of members or partners. The Canadian Rural Research Network is one example of this type of approach. Some drawbacks to this approach include members engaging in passive interactions (e.g. scanning a blogpost), but not reaching out to members, and offering limited member contact by not promoting regular member or partner contact. Brokering initiatives in the virtual-deep engagement quadrant offer members more engaging opportunities to connect by promoting ongoing project sharing,

regular meetings and frequent news updates. While this approach has great potential in deeply connecting diverse stakeholders, we did not come across this kind of brokering initiative in our search. Drawbacks to this approach could be the increased resources required within the brokering initiative to moderate discussions, host meetings, and provide regular coaching and member interaction. Brokering initiatives in the physical-light touch quadrant offer services to connect people within communities while requiring fewer resources to sustain a deep engagement initiative. The Helpdesk is an example of a brokering initiative that uses this approach. A drawback could be that partners might not be able to sustain engagement without a broker's ongoing support. Finally, the physical-deep engagement brokering initiative offers partners opportunities to deeply engage with one another throughout the life of a project. The Centre for Community-Based Research is an example of this type of brokering initiative. Drawbacks include the resources, such as time, space and funds, necessary to support partners at each phase of a project.

Conclusions

In this article, we have presented an overview of the features, roles and activities of brokering initiatives and a framework to better understand their contributions to successful community-campus partnerships. Our intention has been to provide an analytical tool that can support academics and community-based practitioners engaged in teaching and research partnerships. There are a number of ways this framework might be used in developing new or existing brokering initiatives. First, the categories in each of the two parts of the framework describing the different structural allegiances (i.e. community-based brokering initiatives, university-based brokering initiatives, community-university-based brokering initiatives, resource-based brokering initiatives and brokering networks) and dimensions (i.e. levels of engagement, types of platforms, scales of activities and areas of focus) could encourage partners to think through their overall goals and objectives. The framework could also help participants to better evaluate the purpose of a brokering initiative and the various mechanisms to be used to meet those objectives. Further, it might enable consideration of the strengths and limitations of various brokering initiatives in order to understand what each might accomplish, its limitations, and how it could adapt accordingly.

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Report on regents' lecturer about Spanish Language in Los Angeles University

Conde M.D.

Abstract *While many of the Spanish consonants have sounds that are similar to those in English, many are distinctly different. These are listed below. One thing to keep in mind about Spanish consonants is that they're generally softer and somewhat less distinct than their English equivalents (the most notable exceptions are the r and rr). Although*

ear like they're mumbling. Keep in mind that there are some regional variations as well, although if you follow the descriptions in these lessons you will be understood. Note the differences between the sounds of these consonants and their English counterparts in the following examples. Note also that these pronunciations are a guide only, as there are many subtle variations that can vary with locality.

Keywords: *Spanish, language, ramification, textualization*

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Introduction

This article is a critical reflection of a linguist's journey towards community-engaged scholarship (CES). It presents insights gained from this process on how researchers in disciplines less known outside academia can begin to conduct CES, and on the current conversation surrounding the various definitions of CES and their interpretation for the tenure and promotion process. Over the past two decades, a welcome shift has been experienced by academia as universities and national organizations supporting them place ever-growing importance on meaningful research and knowledge arising from faculty-community partnerships because of the mutual benefit promised by such collaborations (Boyer 1996). This does not

mean that such meaningful work did not exist before, rather that it has taken centre stage (Fitzgerald et al. 2016; Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer 2013; Morrison & Wagner 2016). Current approaches to engaged scholarship reside on the understanding that academia is not the exclusive generator of knowledge, and that non-academic settings are a source of tremendous learning opportunities and scholarship (Boyer 1996; Fitzgerald et al. 2016). Furthermore, the current view of engagement 'posits a new framework of scholarship that moves away from emphasizing products to emphasizing impact' (Fitzgerald et al. 2016). However, practice has lagged behind promise (Ward & Miller 2016). Given the requirements and expectations of academics, such as the role of scholarship (publications) in tenure and promotion, and the creation of opportunities for students to engage in work with the community, exactly what counts as scholarship in the community has been the subject of much debate (Barker 2004; Fitzgerald et al. 2016; Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer2013; Janke & Colbeck 2008; O'Meara & Niehaus 2009; Sandmann 2008; Wade & Demb 2009, 2012).

In a white paper developed for the William T. Grant Foundation, my colleagues Cynthia Coburn, Kimberly Geil, and I identified some defining features of partnerships. After reviewing the literature and interviewing leaders from a number of partnerships, here's what we found:

Partnerships are long-term. In a partnership, everyone's in it for the long haul. A good indicator that a collaboration is a partnership proper is they've made it through turnover, and the participants have worked on more than one project together. In other words, they've had to grapple with two big threats to partnerships, changing people and the end of funding. Partnerships are mutualistic. In a partnership, there's a commitment to contributors benefiting from their participation in joint work. Here, "benefit" means more than an exchange of money for services or data. It means that there's a give-and-take with respect to the focus of the work, and a genuine interest in helping other people address their problems, whether that's a teacher who needs better curriculum materials or a researcher who needs data on a new approach to professional development she's developed. Partnerships are intentionally organized. Partnerships don't happen by accident. Teams forming partnerships need to carefully consider who needs to be at the table, how they are going to decide on the focus of their work, and how they'll know when they are successful. They need to attend to equity, taking into account what voices typically get left out when naming problems and searching for solutions.

Partnerships are focused on problems of practice. Researchers typically study what other researchers think is important to study. But, in a research-practice partnership, the focus is on problems of practice defined in collaboration with educational practitioners. Successful partnerships may also include youth, family, and community voices in defining the problems to be studied and addressed. Collaborations that share these features are not particularly common in education. They require a lot of effort to develop and maintain. The outcomes are

often difficult to define, and it's easy for participants to become discouraged by turnover in the partnership and sudden changes to the priorities of policymakers at the federal, state, and district level. At the same time, lots of people are excited about partnerships, and they want to know how to get started and how to find resources to support their work.

Because of the complexity surrounding the factors that influence faculty engagement (e.g. beliefs about student learning, pedagogy, connections to community, shared epistemology), it has been difficult to find a common definition of engaged scholarship (Morrison & Wagner 2016). In this article I argue that a prescribed common definition is, in fact, not possible or desirable. In general, community-engaged scholarship is 'scholarship that involves a mutually beneficial partnership with community members or organizations outside of the academy' (Commission on Community-Engaged Scholarship in the Health Professions 2005). However, because work with community partners includes service-learning, community-based participatory research and other types of community-based work, and because the conversation about how CES is defined is ongoing, some scholars wonder whether their research in the community qualifies as CES for purposes of tenure and promotion (Calleson, Jordan & Seifer 2005; Furco 2010; Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer 2013). In an effort to support their faculty members, individual universities develop their own definitions – in itself an acknowledgement of the ongoing conversation.

Based on my experience as a linguist starting on a path towards CES, I argue that existing definitions and their campus-level adaptations can unintentionally limit understanding of what CES is for some disciplines, including linguistics. For scholars in these disciplines that are little known outside academia, the path towards CES is much longer than for those in fields that are better understood by the general public, such as STEM disciplines and public health, the birthplace of CES, and steps taken along the way should be recognised by institutions Maurana et al. 2001). While developing trusting, meaningful relationships with community partners – a prerequisite for CES – is time-consuming and labour-intensive for anyone, regardless of discipline, I argue that some scholarly fields face an additional challenge because the community (here, anyone outside academia) is unfamiliar with their existence and the objectives of the discipline in the first place.

As a linguist who primarily teaches prospective K–8 teachers, my interest in CES is fuelled by a desire to promote the personal and societal benefits of the scientific study of language to the broader community. Here, I use 'broader community' to refer in general to people outside academia who may otherwise never consider the benefits of linguistics as they navigate the multiple communities to which they belong. The idea of community has typically been tied to place (Dunham 1986); however, as language users and active social beings, we all belong to various communities, some defined by place, some by language, and some by other means such as common interests and undertakings (Bloomfield 1933; Gumperz

1971; Labov 1972). For the purpose of this article, the community is viewed more specifically as a classroom with students and teachers, and it is also further extended to the school, the students' and teachers' families, and to those with whom they interact (Battistich et al. 1995; Brown 1997). While the benefits of understanding language from a scientific perspective are obvious to linguists, they are not immediately obvious to the community. Of utmost importance is the issue of social justice centring around language use and recognition that all dialects of a language are linguistically equal. While most forms of expressing prejudice are frowned upon, overt discrimination based on language is still accepted today because the general public does not understand how language works. Thus, non-standard dialects of English as well as various immigrant languages are viewed as 'bad' and therefore speakers of those language varieties are viewed as less valuable members of society (Baugh 2005; Crawford 1995). A clear case for understanding linguistic diversity as an issue of social justice is presented by bilingual education, which has historically been viewed as an issue for ethnic minority students. Policies have generally favoured the linguistic and cultural majority, with most bilingual programs resulting in monolinguals rather than bilingualism. By making knowledge about language and linguistics accessible to those outside academia, transforming current practices into 'communally-based practices of global learning' can lead to achievable goals of bilingualism, biculturalism, and illiteracy both for ethnic minority and ethnic majority students (Akkari & Loomis 1998, 2012). With a better understanding of language via linguistic study prior to college, students and teachers would begin a ripple effect that would eventually spread throughout their communities, leading to less language-based discrimination. Furthermore, this would have a greater societal impact than studying linguistics only in college, as not every student attends college, and not every college student studies linguistics. To get to this point, however, students and teachers need to understand the building blocks of language and language development in order to arrive at the conclusion that all language varieties are linguistically equal; this can be achieved via working partnerships between linguists and K–12 schools. Nevertheless, because of the disconnect between what linguistics is and does, and the community's unfamiliarity with or lack of understanding of linguistics, establishing such partnerships in a way that is mutually beneficial and not driven by the academy is extremely time-consuming. Teachers need time to understand the potential contributions of linguistics to themselves and their students, and their potential contributions to the academy; the linguist has to do the same.

While I am now engaged in such a partnership with a teacher at a local middle school, it took more than two years to develop a relationship based on mutual trust which, in turn, brought us to the point where we could begin a truly bidirectional partnership that also involved scholarship – in the sense of outcomes that are 'rigorous and peer-reviewed' (Gelmon et al. 2012). In this article I reflect critically on insights gained from this process and offer linguists and scholars from

other lesser known disciplines suggestions for becoming involved in CES, as well as encourage them to challenge the definitions of CES and their interpretation for the tenure and promotion process.

Over the past two decades CES has been identified as one of the core missions of higher education (Boyer 1996; Gelmon et al. 2013, p. 58). One goal of CES is for disciplinary faculty to use their expertise in collaboration with community partners, thereby simultaneously creating new knowledge and contributing to the public good. This has been highly appealing to universities and researchers who want to take their work outside academia and create meaningful and mutually beneficial partnerships, responding to Boyer's (1996, p. 11) challenge for higher education to 'become a more vigorous partner in the search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic and moral problems and … reaffirm its historic commitment to … the scholarship of engagement' (italics added). While this sounds positive from all perspectives, it also presents some unexpected challenges. On the one hand, exactly how to define the 'scholarship of engagement' and community-engaged scholarship is still currently the subject of debate, which leaves room for differences in interpretation. On the other hand, current definitions assume that all disciplines should be able to engage in CES in the same way. Over the years, the term engaged scholarship (or scholarship of engagement) has referenced a multitude of university-community collaborative work, including service-learning, community-based participatory research, outreach, community development, and different forms of civic engagement (Calleson, Jordan & Seifer 2005; Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer 2013; Sandmann 2008). These different types of engagement obviously have different outcomes and levels of scholarship, which impact aspects of tenure and promotion expectations. Sandmann (2008, p. 101), in her review of the literature on what the scholarship of engagement has meant over the years, concludes that CES is 'still emerging from its "definitional anarchy" and is still evolving as an interdisciplinary field for academic research'. Community-engaged scholarship currently combines 'the principles of community engagement with accepted standards of scholarship' (Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer 2013, p. 59), and is thus defined further at the level of the institution. This is an important point, because scholars work both within their broader disciplinary framework and within the parameters established by their institutions. This may not be best practice, however, given the diversity of disciplines and the knowledge that communities have, or do not have, about those disciplines. Morrison and Wagner (2016) argue that the faculty perspective must be taken into account in the CES debate. In order to 'make sense of the complex list of factors influencing how faculty engage, their reasons for doing it, and how institutions can support them', we need to understand 'how faculty define and make meaning of CES for themselves' (Morrison & Wagner 2016, p. 9). And addressing the issue of potential research partnerships with non-academics, Ward and Miller (2016, p. 189) state, 'How the individual work of both faculty and staff is marginalized, valued, validated, recognized, and rewarded through formal

promotion structures and processes remains an area of needed attention within and across institutions of higher education'. Therefore, an argument can be made that a monolithic definition of CES is neither possible nor desirable. Yet, faculty need guidance on how to situate their work.

The California State University (CSU) is the largest four-year public university system in the United States, with 23 campuses. A survey of the CSU's websites on community engagement shows that, at the time of writing, only six campuses specifically define or discuss community-engaged scholarship and emphasize the importance of reciprocity in university-community partnerships. Fourteen other campuses emphasize service-learning as the primary focus of community-engagement work, and a few others also encourage participatory-action research, internships and other forms of research, teaching or service that benefit the community. This range of emphases is expected, and it is likely that more campuses will specifically address CES in the future. However, this also means that individual campuses may place a different value on various types of work that faculty conduct in the community.

According to one institution's definition, in the context of the broader national conversation, CES 'is centered on a mutually-beneficial collaboration between the university and a community partner outside the academy', contributes to the public good and 'meets the needs of the community partner as defined and expressed by the partner'. Moreover, for university-community partnership work to be considered CES (as opposed to service-learning or participatory-action research, for example), it must either involve a 'strong bidirectional relationship' or be 'community driven', as shown in the last two columns in the chart in Figure 1. This chart is provided on the institution's CES webpage to help explain the campus definition of CES and to guide faculty towards rigorous CES work. The original source is a document created by the US Environmental Protection Agency's National Center for Environmental Research (NCER, 2015), whose goal is to support funding for quality research related to the environment. However, recognizing the importance of people within communities and how significant outcomes from community research can only be achieved through the direct involvement of the community, the NCER drafted a primer on community-engaged research (CEnR). This document is directed to academics in general, recognizes 'the strengths of the community institutions and individual members' and identifies CEnR along a continuum of engagement between researcher and community partner, as outlined in the chart below. CES, as separate from service-learning or community-based research, involves only the last two columns.

The above CES definition and its interpretation are helpful guides for scholars to determine what type of work constitutes CES. At the same time, faculty in disciplines which are not well known outside academia, such as linguistics, find themselves ill-positioned to engage in such scholarship for two reasons: (1) the community is unfamiliar with the discipline and its potential contribution to the

public good, and is therefore unprepared to engage in true bidirectional collaboration, and (2) the linguist/researcher lacks a network of relationships with communities apart from those with which they conduct their research (e.g. documenting or extensively studying a language). The combination of these two factors leads to a lengthier process for linguists as they pursue CES if their CES work is outside the typical linguist's communities of focus.

Figure 1. Spectrum of community involvement in research

It is important to emphasize that this is neither the fault of the community nor of the field of linguistics. While more linguists today than at any other time are becoming involved in outreach and seeking to work with teachers in K–12 schools, convincing teachers and schools to incorporate linguistics in the curriculum has been slow because of a lack of understanding, curricular constraints, strong adherence to traditional notions of grammar and the nature of adopting curricular changes in general (Reaser 2010). Part of the reason for this, however, is that, traditionally, linguistics has been a higher education discipline and its broader value to society is not well understood by the general public, and this has been detrimental to both the field and the broader community. Simply put, outside academia linguistics is primarily misunderstood as either the language police or the polyglot society. Usually the first question people ask when they learn someone is a linguist is 'How many languages do you speak?', followed or preceded by a comment along the lines of 'Uh oh, I better watch what I say'. Neither of these is actually true of linguists who generally concern themselves with speakers' actual knowledge and use of language (though some linguists do speak multiple languages) rather than prescriptive grammatical rules. Linguists have worked in and with communities to document languages or conduct other research, and sometimes this has served the needs of the community. For example, linguists have contributed a great deal to language documentation, whether the linguist sought out a community or vice versa. In the case of the Kawaiisu speakers in Tehachapi, California, it was they who approached linguist Jocelyn Ahlers to assist with the documentation of their language; the community-determined goals and outcomes constitute CES work even under more prescribed definitions (personal communication). The work of linguists also is critical to the conversation about bilingualism and bilingual education, speech and language pathology, text-to-speech and speech-to-text software development, education, law and public health, to name a few of an ever-growing list of benefits. However, not all of these applications are obviously linked with linguistic study in the public view. Linguistics is not usually discovered by students (myself included) until college. In recent years, recognizing these shortcomings, linguistics has made it a priority for linguists to become more active in making the discipline 'recognizable' outside academia via public outreach and involvement in K–12 classrooms (Denham & Lobeck 2010; Godley, Reaser & Moore 2015; Linguistics Society of America2017; Reaser et al. 2017).

As a linguist who teaches prospective teachers, I have come to recognise the role that my current students will have in making language relevant to their students – and the communities to which they belong – beyond their expected understanding that language is used for communication, reading and writing. While the role of linguistics in the K–12 classroom was explored and recognised earlier by a handful of people (Denham & Lobeck 2010; Fillmore & Snow 2000; Honda & O'Neil 1993, 2008; Honda, O'Neil & Pippin 2004; Reaser et al. 2017), recognition has grown over the years, but not yet to a level where it has made a significant impact in our communities. Thus, the general public still does not have a clear understanding of what linguistics is or does. On the other hand, linguists do not have first-hand experience working in K–12 classrooms and therefore are unfamiliar with the needs of students and teachers. As Gelmon, Jordan and Seifer (2013, p. 63) state, 'in some disciplines and institutions, faculty may not know where to find a "real" community-based organization or understand how a collaboration might be beneficial to their scholarship, their students, and their institution'.

Linguists have ideas of how linguistics can contribute to a faculty–community partnership. However, given the interpretation of the CES definition that the partnership be 'bidirectional' or 'community driven' as it addresses an issue 'defined and expressed by the partner', linguists such as myself find themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand, a potential community partner, in this case a school, or a K–12 teacher, does not know that linguistics exists, what it does, or that there are linguists at a university with whom they could collaborate and create new knowledge for the benefit of both partners. In fact, the community may not even know that an issue might exist in the first place. For example, discrimination based on language persists without notice even as other forms of overt discrimination are generally frowned upon. This can take the shape of discrimination based on non-standard dialects of English, languages other than English spoken in the US, or even English spoken as a second language. Looking at language from a scientific perspective can help not only to develop students' inquiry skills, but also to highlight the fact that all dialects are linguistically equal (Crawford 1995; Reaser et al. 2017). This is an issue of social justice and would potentially translate into less language-based discrimination in the school, family and broader communities with which the students and their families interact. But if the community is not aware of what linguistics does or of an existing issue that could be addressed, and if the linguist does not have a pre-existing partnership that may have been established for some purpose other than CES, then the process towards CES will take that much longer – longer, I would argue, than for someone in a discipline that is at least somewhat better understood outside academia. Furthermore, the impact of the work in the larger community, outside of the school, for example, may not be visible until much later, as the students become agents of change within their families and other communities. In turn, the characteristics of these communities – extended families or neighbourhoods – will also direct the impact of the work. It will take

a lot longer to create change both with and by students whose families support the 'English-only movement', for example.

If CES is defined in such a way that it is restricted to a collaboration instigated by the community partner to address a need experienced by that community, the linguist cannot approach a community partner with an idea for a project or an issue that could be addressed via the partnership. As I suggest in the later section on lessons learned, in order to achieve a truly bidirectional collaboration the scholar must first engage in various activities (e.g. volunteering, community outreach) that will nurture trust and inform the partner of the objectives and societal benefits of the discipline, and must in turn be informed by the partner and their needs. While this may appear true for any discipline, the crucial point here is that more familiar disciplines (e.g. art, STEM, or health-related) will not face as long a process. In the next section I reflect further upon my own experience and offer suggestions for how linguists, and others from similarly challenged disciplines, can develop community partnerships that will lead to community-engaged scholarship.

Reflections of a linguist's journey towards a CES partnership

Since beginning to work with undergraduates who are prospective K–8 teachers a decade ago, I have been contemplating the role of linguistics in the school curriculum. Having graduated from a highly theoretical linguistics department, where we were all majoring in linguistics and then working on our doctorate degrees, I had taken it for granted that interest in linguistics was just there in the classroom. Everyone was taking linguistics because they loved the subject for its own sake. However, faced with students who were taking linguistics classes not because they liked linguistics, but because they were required to take these classes, I found myself answering a lot of questions about the reasons we were studying language from a scientific perspective. While some students loved the subject, others struggled to understand its purpose. It was not difficult to demonstrate how certain aspects would be beneficial to them in their future profession as teachers. For example, learning about dialects, linguistic diversity and bilingualism were topics that most students immediately identified with and could see how they would be relevant. To some extent, learning about phonetics and phonology, the sound system of language, was also accepted as playing a role in how they could help their students to read and write, and understand their students' phonetic spelling in the early grades. What was more difficult was keeping that interest when doing serious linguistic analysis, which can be tedious and challenging, and getting students to think of ways they could use linguistics when they became teachers. I further realised that I, too, had a limited understanding of how it might be relevant, and that without working in the K–8 classroom with teachers and students, I would continue to be limited in my understanding.

The idea of working with teachers in the classroom is not a new one. As mentioned in the previous section, Honda, O'Neil, Pippin, Denham and Lobeck have been involved in such work for some time on small projects that started either in

their children's classrooms or with teachers they already knew and who were comfortable with them. However, while this work constituted engaged scholarship, it was not necessarily community-engaged scholarship. This work was intended to introduce students to linguistics and was also a way to test the hypotheses entertained by linguists about the role that linguistics played in the primary and secondary grades, such as developing scientific thinking skills (Denham & Lobeck 2010; Honda & O'Neil 2008). The bidirectional and reciprocal components of the partnership were not obvious.

In Spring 2015, I had not yet encountered the field of CES, but I wanted to begin working in a classroom. I approached my daughter's former fourth grade teacher and suggested some ways in which we could talk about language and linguistics and how this could address some of the recent common core curriculum standards, such as developing scientific writing, under the college and career readiness standards, or developing foundational skills of word analysis (e.g. working with Latin and Greek roots). The teacher was very open to the idea and graciously offered class time for me to volunteer once a week during the semester. The lessons were primarily identified by me and approved by the teacher. The students enjoyed all the activities that we conducted (e.g. figuring out parts of speech from Lewis Carol's Jabberwocky, or Greek and Latin roots from Harry Potter's spells); however, we did not create new knowledge, as necessitated by scholarship. I did not know how to properly articulate the goals of this work within the context of CES because I was not familiar with CES. I was focused on how linguistics could be used in the classroom in a way that would engage students, and what I could learn from the experience so that I could bring that to my own classroom for future teachers at the university. This had the potential to be CES, but it was not, and I really did not know how to do it. No research had been conducted, only practice of linguistics with fourth graders, and observation of what that might mean for my own prospective teacher students.

During the same semester, my institution announced that there would be a year-long faculty learning community (FLC) focused on community-engaged scholarship, and the brief description in the announcement seemed to be exactly what I needed for the work I wanted to do. I applied to participate in the FLC, and joined the FLC the following year. The FLC had three other faculty members from different disciplines and two facilitators. I naively believed that, based on my experience with the fourth grade, I would be ready to engage in CES a year from then, and I saw the FLC as a supportive environment for that type of work. The plan was to develop a new partnership (for practical reasons I wanted to work with a school that was close to my university) and begin the work as soon as possible. As we began discussing CES and what it entailed, I realised that I had not understood it properly. In particular, the requirement that there be a 'bidirectional' or 'community driven' partnership involved in identifying the issue to be addressed became an almost insurmountable challenge. Approaching a teacher at a new school with an

idea about a partnership in a field that was not well understood by the community, and expecting the teacher to recognise a potential need that the partnership could address, seemed impossible. Also, the school I wanted to partner with was a new school that my children were attending. As such, I had the slight, but marginal, advantage of being an 'insider'. The teachers knew me as a new parent, but we had no history and no relationship. Nevertheless, this was helpful as I did not approach teachers as a complete 'outsider' (Post et al. 2016).

After a few attempts at connecting with teachers, which included offers by me to volunteer and collaborate on any language-related projects they might identify, I successfully connected with the teacher with whom I am currently working. This was a longer process than I had anticipated, spanning the academic year, which may have been attributable to a number of factors. First, the teachers may have been overwhelmed by the amount of work they had to accomplish during the year, and adding one more thing to the schedule had seemed prohibitive. Second, and I would argue more likely, the relevance of linguistics and what a potential partnership could accomplish was not obvious to the teachers. Third, and also probably equally significant, my in-between position as an insider–outsider at the beginning of the year shifted closer to 'insider' towards the end of the year, thus providing an advantage (Dwyer & Buckle 2009). Still, despite this advantage, it took more than two years to begin the CES work.

When I met with the teacher, an 8th grade humanities instructor, I was forthcoming from the beginning about the goals of a potential partnership and shared with her a tremendously helpful tool, a matrix for planning and implementing a CES project (Figure 2), adapted by my university from the original work of Jeffrey Howard at the Ginsberg Center, University of Michigan (2007). The matrix outlines the purposes of a partnership and emphasizes the role of the community partner.

Figure 2 Matrix for planning and implementing a CES project

I knew by the time we met, which was at the end of one year of effort and learning about CES, that community organizations are often tired of being approached by university faculty who want to conduct their research there (the 'parachute' approach), so I wanted to make it clear from the beginning that this was not that type of work. The teacher was excited to see that the goals were truly paying attention to the needs of the school, and even though we did not have a clear idea of how the project would work, we decided to give it a try the following year and see what happened. We discussed some possible things that we could do, and the teacher identified the need for her students to improve their fundamental knowledge of how English works so they could become better writers. That was a good start and the beginning of a developing relationship.

Over the course of the following school year we co-taught a group of 8th grade students once a week, each time responding to the needs of the students as identified by the teacher and the students. We worked on grammatical structure, Latin and Greek roots, and non-standard dialects of English. By the end of the year,

we had an engaged partnership and we had built trust. We understood what each of us could bring to the partnership and how the students could benefit from our collaboration. So by the end of the first year of collaborative work we were poised to engage in CES the following year.

The school is designed around project-based learning, a teaching methodology which is student-centered and via which students acquire skills and knowledge by engaging in long-term inquiry around a particular problem or real-world question (Blumenfeld et al. 2005; Dewey 1959). While the actual work is outside the scope of this article, we are currently exploring ways to incorporate linguistics into the students' projects, rather than have it as a peripheral subject of interest, with the goal of both strengthening their writing skills and making them more aware of linguistic diversity so they are more informed citizens and users of language. We have designed specific instruments to evaluate whether and how students achieve these goals, hence our work now includes scholarship and the creation of new knowledge, which will benefit both the community and the university.

What should be clear from this reflection is that advancing to the starting line for conducting CES in a field such as linguistics is a very long process. In my case, it took over two years. Some disciplines may have a shorter path because they are better understood by the community. For example, STEM disciplines, because of their prominence in the media and in the school curriculum, may find it easier to engage in this type of work. Likewise, the health professions, where this work began, are also better understood and the benefits to the community are more immediately obvious. Even within the field of linguistics there are sub disciplines which are easier or more difficult for the public to access. For example, sociolinguistics and language acquisition are much more accessible, while the formal study of phonetics and phonology (sound systems) or syntax (language structure) is less accessible. Linguists from these subfields, such as myself, must find ways to connect their work to the broader interests of the community and be committed to a long-term partnership so that eventually the more abstract aspects of linguistic study can become accessible and meaningful. For example, it would be difficult to form a partnership with a school on the grounds of studying the sounds of language without connecting it to the role that sounds play in learning foreign languages, or how non-native accents can be explained and why some accents are viewed as more desirable or less desirable than others. Some linguists have forged pathways within the public health field, focusing on issues of public health literacy, and have successfully contributed to the public good by offering practical solutions to creating more accessible health information that is also linguistically and culturally informed (Ellis, Connor & Marshall 2014; Parmer et al. 2015; Zarcadoolas 2005).

This does not mean that the work for these more easily recognised disciplines is any less demanding – researchers still have to develop trusting relationships with community partners, and this is time-consuming. What it does mean,

however, is that linguistics, in general, and potentially other social sciences and humanities have an additional obstacle to overcome, which is the fact that the community does not know that they exist.

To sum up, there are two reasons why CES is difficult for linguists: (1) the definition of CES and its interpretation, which may discourage participation in CES in the first place, and (2) a lack of understanding of linguistics outside academia. In the next section I offer suggestions for how this type of work can be conducted more effectively by inviting linguists to contribute to the creation of policies clarifying community-engaged scholarship expectations for tenure and promotion at their institutions and beyond, and to engage in a number of activities that will improve understanding of linguistics outside academia in order to eventually break this cycle.

Lessons learned and potential solutions

I learned two things from this two-year process. First, as new modes of research develop, we have to be careful with how we define them and how those definitions are interpreted, both at the individual and the institutional level. Second, linguistics as a field needs to do a better job of making the discipline a household name. Students should not have to wait till college to hear about linguistics.

Regarding the first point, current definitions and interpretations of CES mean that CES will require additional time for some disciplines. As I have shown, it can take years to even begin to conduct research that may subsequently become published material, which is what promotion and tenure committees expect to see (Gelmon, Jordan & Seifer 2013). Because not all disciplines have the same standing in the community, they cannot all begin CES work in the same way or within the same timeframe. This has significant implications for the tenure and promotion process and may discourage scholars from participating in CES altogether, forcing them to focus instead on projects they can quickly turn into publications, but which may not be as meaningful. Most universities do not offer the support needed by faculty to engage in this type of work, yet they expect this type of work to be conducted. A possible solution to this is for scholars to advocate for the development of promotion and tenure policies that recognize the lengthy preliminary work done by the scholar with the community partner as an explicitly essential and valid part of a faculty member's scholarship productivity, even though that work may not be published or publishable in traditional venues. The Community-Campus Partnership for Health website provides a toolkit for scholars (https://ccph.memberclicks.net) to help them prepare tenure and promotion portfolios highlighting their work in the community, and these scholars should be able to use the work entailed in building a community-scholar partnership that precedes actual CES work as scholarship, rather than service.

With respect to the second point, the field of linguistics has already recognised the need to make linguistics better understood. If this were achieved, and people in the community understood 'linguistics' the way they understand 'math-

ematics' (mathematics itself has its own issues with being misunderstood by the public, yet it is still better understood than linguistics), then the journey for a linguist wanting to engage in CES might be somewhat shortened. Some things are already being done to make this a reality, but the efforts are scattered across the country and conducted unsystematically by people like myself who are interested in this type of work. The Linguistics Society of America encourages public outreach, including participation in STEM events where community members can see language as a science, and has a committee on Language in the School Curriculum charged with exploring and pursuing 'ways in which the linguistics community can have an effect on school instruction in language-related topics, including linguistics' (Linguistics Society of America website). Current efforts include exploring more ways to incorporate linguistics in schools and encouraging more university faculty to partner with teachers, particularly at the high-school level, to introduce linguistics to students. In addition, linguists can follow the models of Connor, Rubin and Zarcadoolas, who have successfully merged their linguistics interests and professional training with public health (Ellis, Connor & Marshall 2014; Parmer et al. 2015; Zarcadoolas, Pleasant & Greer 2005). To these efforts I would add volunteerism, collaboration between linguists and faculty members in other disciplines to seek convergent goals and possible partnerships (Anderson 2017) and working with university students who are studying to be teachers (see also Denham & Lobeck 2010 and Fillmore & Snow 2000).

Based on my experience, a linguist–teacher partnership requires a lot of volunteer time; therefore, linguists interested in pursuing this type of work should consider carefully their reasons for doing so (short-term product, long-term impact and product), the time they have to devote to it, and the level of departmental and institutional support. It is also critical that, in pursuing such a partnership, the linguist respond to the teacher's and their students' needs, which may require classroom observation, becoming familiar with state standards, and having open discussions about the needs identified by the teacher and how linguistics can provide inquiry-based creative ways of addressing those needs. Because volunteering may not always be recognized as an academic pursuit, when discussing this work for the purpose of tenure or promotion, faculty members should highlight the contribution of the collaboration to the community and to their own professional development, as I have done here: it is a pathway towards CES and the work itself has academic value. Furthermore, as more faculty members become involved in community-engaged work (whether service-learning or CES), linguists should seek out collaboration with faculty in other disciplines with whom they may share similar perspectives on CES (Morrison & Wagner 2016).

While it is unrealistic and impractical to have a linguist conducting CES in every K–12 classroom, linguists who work with future teachers at the undergraduate level have the opportunity to make this type of work relevant and to prepare their students to become teachers who will use linguistics in their classrooms for

all its individual and societal benefits. Linguists need to develop partnerships with teachers so that they can tailor college-level linguistics curricula accordingly. One can envision an undergraduate course where prospective teachers regularly engage with students in schools with which the instructors (linguists) have established partnerships and actually conduct research. The prospective teachers might discuss the role of linguistics in education with each other and with their instructor, meet with the public school teachers, and together establish some research topic of interest to both (e.g. how can students learn what sentence fragments are, and how can they edit their own writing for fragments?). The prospective teachers might subsequently (1) discuss linguistically informed approaches to understanding fragments, such as inquiry-based exercises that illustrate what fragments are and how they are not always 'bad' as is typically taught (they are actually desirable in spoken language); (2) hypothesise what types of activities would lead students to recognise and edit fragments in their own writing; and (3) conduct research in the classroom to evaluate whether those methods were successful and whether students understood that there is a difference between spoken and written language. This discussion could be extended further to differences in registers and dialects, and has the potential to positively contribute to the public good.

Linguists who do not work specifically with future teachers would benefit from highlighting this type of work in their classes as well. Most undergraduates in linguistics do not go on to become researchers, but rather become technical writers, lawyers, speech and language pathologists, or foreign language teachers. K–12 education is a profession they should consider, and it might be one they would consider if the connections between linguistics and education were made evident. Researchers and teachers in fields that are in a similar situation to linguistics would benefit from the same suggestions offered above. Whatever the field, finding service opportunities in order to develop relationships with community partners can lead to the development of a CES project. One can even envision a service-to-CES pathway where faculty and students engage in service-learning opportunities, building trusting partnerships between the university and the community partner, which then leads to CES (Vogel & Seifer 2011). Service-learning can be used towards this goal, as in the case of prospective teachers working with linguistically and culturally diverse students as they themselves build sociolinguistic knowledge and language skills that they can use in their future classrooms (Fan 2013). Subsequently, this work can lead to CES for students and linguists alike.

Designing a university curriculum that emphasises the role of the discipline to the broader community will create citizens who take that knowledge into the community. As scholars in these fields, we need to adopt a long-term perspective and expect future generations to have a better understanding of these lesser known fields than has the current generation.

Conclusions

Community-engaged scholarship is encouraged by universities and funding agencies as it offers opportunities for conducting meaningful work with community partners for the mutual benefit of the community and the researcher. As such, CES is both a challenging and a rewarding avenue for research, as well as a high-stakes item in the review process for tenure and promotion. These two factors, the topic of this article, have different implications given the current conversation in the CES field. As a relatively new concept that incorporates scholarship in community-engaged work, CES is still being redefined, even at the individual university level. Current definitions and their interpretations can be too restrictive for disciplines that are not well understood outside academia, such as linguistics, thereby creating unanticipated challenges. While CES requires a significant investment of time for any faculty dedicated to cultivating trust-based community relationships – a prerequisite for CES work – faculty in these disciplines have to spend much more time not only cultivating the partnership, but also making the discipline and its benefits understandable to the partner without resorting to a top–down approach to research (where the academic imposes the research on the partner). This is necessary in order for both partner and researcher to arrive at a mutually beneficial project, which is a fundamental expectation of CES. A more prescribed definition, set at institutional level, can have the unintentional effect of limiting understanding of what CES can be, and in effect discourage the pursuit of CES by some disciplines.

Based on my personal experience with the process of engaging in CES as a linguist, I have offered suggestions for linguists and academics in similar disciplines on how to begin such work and how to advocate for such work to be recognized for tenure and promotion purposes. The faculty member can seek out service opportunities in the community to learn about the potential partner's needs and inform them about their discipline as part of the partnership negotiation process. Further, they can suggest and advocate for the creation of university policies that take the lengthy and complex preliminary work of CES into account as part of the faculty member's scholarly work for the tenure and promotion process, and they can also participate in activities that will make their discipline more accessible to the public, thereby shortening the process in the long term.

Partnerships also benefit from having a model for how research will inform the work of the partnership. One such model is Design-Based Implementation Research (DBIR). DBIR projects share four features: (a) a focus on persistent problems of practice from multiple stakeholders' perspectives; (b) a commitment to iterative, collaborative design; (c) a concern with developing theory related to both classroom learning and implementation through systematic inquiry; and (d) a concern with developing capacity for sustaining change in systems. There are case studies of DBIR, resources, and workshops to help organize DBIR projects at learndbir.org. The R+P Collaboratory adaptation sites are using the DBIR approach. In addition, researchers in the Collaboratory are facilitating the work of a

group of Math-Science Partnerships funded by both the NSF and U.S. Department of Education to investigate strategies for negotiating problems of practice that can become the focus of joint work. They are presenting on this topic at this week's conference for grantees in these two programs.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching holds workshops on a form of DBIR called "Improvement Research." Their efforts are focused on building understanding of how to focus continuous improvement efforts around small tests of change that build toward big, positive impacts on educational systems. Carnegie and its partners have shown early success in developing powerful interventions to improve developmental mathematics teaching and learning in community colleges.

Finally, my colleagues Cynthia Coburn, Caitlin Farrell, Annie Allen and I are also engaged in an empirical study of research-practice partnerships. In our study, we are examining the dynamics of partnerships and how partnership design and the local context shape these dynamics and, in turn, research use in districts. Together with our colleagues James P. Spillane, Heather Hill, and Derek Briggs, we will be continuing to explore research use in partnerships through the new National Center for Research in Policy and Practice, an IES-funded Knowledge Utilization Center. Stay tuned for more about this work.

Who Funds Research-Practice Partnerships?

Finally, there are a few programs to which researchers and practitioners seeking funding can turn to, such as the US Department of Education's Institute for Education Sciences' Researcher-Practitioner Partnership program, and the National Science Foundation's STEM-C Partnerships program. These programs provide funding for forming deeper partnerships, as well as for joint work to improve outcomes for students.

For partnerships that want to try out a DBIR approach to organizing research and development, there are two programs to which partnerships can apply. At the Institute of Education Sciences, the Continuous Improvement Research in Education supports this kind of research. At the National Science Foundation, the Implementation Research strand of the DRK-12 program is a program that funds DBIR projects.

Bridging the Divide: A Plea for Persistence.

Funding for collaborations between researchers and practitioners is short-term, but real partnerships take many years to develop and mature. During that time, leaders will change jobs, and priorities will shift. Much can benefit can still be gained from researchers and practitioners working together through such changes, but it takes persistence, patience, and a willingness to work through difficulties.

One way to think of a research-practice partnership is that it's the foundation for a new infrastructure for relating research and practice. It may be small and local, but it is rich in relationships and commitment to solving big problems of edu-

cation. Those relationships, as this series in the Shanker Blog indicate, are key to lasting reform.

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What is the round table discussion, University of California, Los Angeles, April, 26, 2002

Dias, E
Saramago J

Abstract *Despite being passionate about societal issues, Swedish youths don't feel like the politicians are listening to them. To fight this alienation, we at TMF have created 'Table of Discussion' – an interactive table that connects first time voters all over Sweden directly to the Swedish parliament. This way young people get a chance to bring up their most pressing issues eye to eye with the politicians that represent them. The table breaks down the distances that keeps them apart, and creates a natural way for them to talk over a lunch or "fika".*

Keywords: *California, Los Angeles, table discussion*

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Introduction

The table was created by the hi-tech C&D Joinery in Falköping using the latest in wood working construction – specifically designed for integrating the technology that would make it possible to have real-time conversations over long distances, and without losing sound or video quality.

To make the experience as real as possible, we positioned the camera behind the screen so it would capture the conversation in a way to create a continouos-table effect on the other screen. The position of the camera also made it possible to look the person on the other side in the eyes, which creates the feeling of really sitting across from each other at the same table, appose to a regular video call.

If you are interested in building your own table to create your own conversations between people, download the 3D-model below and get building!

Brokering initiatives could also use this framework when mapping out the resources needed to sustain their work. Common to most brokering initiatives we examined was the importance of having a steady source of funding to develop infrastructure, hire staff to carry out the necessary tasks and sustain the initiative over the long-term. CCE brokers that are funded or based in a university tended to have the most stability and capacity as a result of solid institutional backing. In fact, some of the brokering initiatives we studied began as independent organizations based in the community, but over time chose to relocate to the university due to funding opportunities and the institutional resources and supports available. Having stable funding appeared to lessen the anxiety of participants and allow CCE brokers to focus on improving the content of their activities and services. In a number of cases, added stability also enabled participants to more seriously consider and address power imbalances within their relationships. Some of the networks we examined, such as the Canadian Rural Research Network, did not have funding and, as a result, operated primarily as a shell, with activities driven completely by participants (typically those with grants to do their work). The source of funding also made a significant difference to the work CCE brokers could take on. For example, one brokering initiative reported that having support from an external funder over the course of several years allowed them to respond better to community needs, take risks and experiment with new types of activities rather than worrying about whether they were addressing the university's strategic plan. For many academics, a well-funded, secure and long-term partnership provided added legitimacy for engaging in, and in some cases leading, CCE projects.

We propose several directions for future research on CCE brokering initiatives. First, there is very little research documenting and evaluating case studies of brokering initiatives, especially in peer-reviewed journals. These kinds of scholarly studies are important as a means of sharing information and comparing and contrasting the efforts of different initiatives. The framework is a first step towards that in-depth analysis and could be used to further examine the process of building and maintaining CCE brokering relationships and models. Second, limited research exists on both the factors for success and the challenges faced by CCE brokering initiatives. To share learning, we suggest that researchers analyse experiences and document lessons learned from attempts at brokering community-campus partnerships in relation to the categories proposed in this article. Finally, CCE practitioners would benefit from studies of the different tools available to support brokering initiatives. We propose that these tools could be conceptualized in relation to the framework.

While this framework provides a valuable tool for understanding and evaluating brokering initiatives, it is not intended to be static. In most cases, we found that the categories were not fixed and that many of the brokering initiatives we examined took on more than one of the structural allegiances and/or dimensions simultaneously. This speaks to the context in which many of these brokering initiatives operate (e.g. reacting/responding to changing funding realities, program pri-

orities of community organizations , emerging/unanticipated needs, etc.). Also, as technology changes along with the needs of CCE, new tools are being developed that may require different kinds of frameworks to understand and interpret CCE activities. Thus, while we compared brokering initiatives in order to understand their different attributes, we are not advocating a standardised approach to evaluation. Our research and experience leads us to suggest that brokering initiatives must be context-specific and respond to the needs of both community and academic partners. However, we need mechanisms to support community-campus partnerships in a more institutional and sustained way. It is our hope that the analytical framework will make a meaningful contribution to this endeavour. Specifically, we wish to acknowledge contributions made by Peter Andrée, Jason Garlough, Stephen Hill, John Marris, Natasha Pei, Amanda Sheedy, Elizabeth Whitmore and Amanda Wilson.

In response, the past 20 years have witnessed the emergence of participatory approaches that seek to reduce the distance between researchers and the 'subjects' of research by engaging directly with local stakeholders. Community-based research (CBR) is a relatively new methodology often aligned with critical theory and characterised by co-generation of knowledge and shared decision-making between researchers and community members. As such, CBR may challenge traditional ways of 'doing research'. Supporting CBR has increasingly become a strategic priority for universities due to its potential to enhance research impact (Hall 2009 Speer & Christens 2013). As CBR is integrated into institutional frameworks and a growing number of researchers incorporate CBR into their research practice, it becomes increasingly important to understand CBR research principles and values.

It became evident early in the study that, when we tried to define CBR, many tensions emerged amongst faculty members in various disciplines, between those doing more quantitative research than qualitative research, and between faculty and community members and researchers and their institution. Interestingly, the main tensions seemed to be rooted in the epistemological, ontological and axiological positions of the respondents, which were closely tied to their discipline and institutional context. This was further complicated by the reality that, despite our efforts as researchers to be as inclusive as possible through various recruitment methods, including institution-wide invitations, faculty-wide invitations and personal invitations, our participants were inevitably only partially representative of the faculty, staff and university community. The absence of many voices led us to question the ethical nature of the research that we were undertaking, especially when we read many of the comments on the study in Round 3 concerning the importance of respecting diverse epistemologies, addressing power imbalances and accountability to an 'ethical research process'.

Admittedly, the consensus-seeking nature of the Delphi approach might have further marginalized some political views held by CBR researchers from some disciplines and, as a result, in many 'political' VPs being eliminated. Most participants agreed that building equality or equity in relationships means addressing power

explicitly; however, based on the 67 per cent cut-off, itemised VPs that included openly political terms such as power, anti-oppression, Indigenous and anti-colonial were dropped following the first round. In other words, at least among the respondents to this study, most did not agree with the 'political' nature of CBR. However, some respondents in the second round expressed concerns with this result. We realised that we did not have the means, given that the consensus of the group determined the final list of VPs, to deeply address the many tensions and systemic inequities that seemed to mark the texts of the survey responses. Fortunately, some members of the study spoke up during our workshop after Round 1 and consensus was reached to reinstate several VPs that otherwise would have been eliminated from the final list, due mainly, in our view, to the absence of certain marginalised voices, disciplines and non-mainstream approaches to research in the survey process. This was due in part to systemic inequities and institutional absences. Removing the most overtly politicized VPs was perceived by some respondents to leave academic researchers in the privileged position that many scholars claim CBR is supposed to redress, and perhaps to undermine decolonial and anti-oppressive methodologies. In short, the tendency of the majority of respondents to opt for a relatively objective and apolitical position was viewed by others as masking what were fundamental issues of injustice which have significant impact on institutional practice of tenure, promotion and ethical approaches to CBR.

Following from the focus on power relations, several authors suggest that a key principle of CBR involves the integration of knowledge and action for social change, with the objective of transforming fundamental structures that sustain inequalities in order to improve the lives of those involved, as they define improvement (Brydon - Miller & Maguire 2009; CAMH 2011; Elliott 2012; Jacklin & Kinoshameg 2008; OWHN 2009; Stanton 2014). For Ross et al. (2010), social justice is a goal of CBR that includes ensuring research priorities respect the needs of marginalised communities and promote self-determination. Similarly, St Denis (1992) argues that CBR must be committed to critiquing the status quo and building a more just society.

As part of promoting positive social change, many authors stress the commitment of CBR researchers to capacity-building, co-learning, and expansion of critical consciousness (Brydon-Miller & Maguire 2009; CAMH 2011; Horowitz, Robinson & Seifer 2009; OWHN 2009; Stanton 2014; Stoudt, Fox & Fine 2012). For example, Freudenberg and Tsui (2014) argue that improvements in health equity requires addressing the social determinants of health; consequently, policy change becomes a public health goal. Power dynamics are woven throughout policy efforts to improve health, and the work of public health researchers is inherently political because it concerns power relations (Freudenberg & Tsui 2014).

In sum, the literature reveals CBR as an ethical research practice that calls for researchers to be reflexive throughout the research process, leading to social transformation. Although the literature speaks to the values and principles of CBR, they have not been clearly articulated. To address this gap, we conducted a Delphi study among active CBR researchers at a research university in Western Canada.

Methodology

The university in which we conducted this study piloted a CBR initiative a few years ago. A steering committee under the Vice-President Research was set up to increase the visibility of CBR and promote the adoption of best practice at the university. Despite the fact that CBR is widely practised on campus, there has been a concern among CBR researchers that they are disadvantaged in research ethics reviews and tenure and promotion processes by the lack of understanding of the values and principles (VPs) of CBR. To address this concern, we conducted this study to generate a list of VPs that could be used as reference for these reviews and processes.

As a comprehensive research university with over 5000 research faculty members, CBR researchers come from a variety of disciplines, each of which has its own research tradition, stakeholders and understanding of CBR. It is therefore difficult to identify all CBR researchers. Besides, the very essence of CBR entails the participation of community partners; therefore, it was also important that we involve their voices in a study to explore the values and principles of CBR. The actual number and identification of all community partners involved in CBR with this university was hard to determine. Thus, it was technically difficult to generate a frame for sampling via a traditional survey method.

Since broad generalisation was not our goal, we decided to employ the Delphi technique developed by the RAND Corporation in the 1950s (Dalkey 1967) to conduct this study. The Delphi method is a popular approach widely used in different fields to generate agreement through synthesis of a diverse range of expert opinions (Hasson, Keeney & McKenna 2000; Yan & Tsang 2005). As a research tool, Delphi depends on group dynamics rather than statistical authority to achieve consensus among experts (Okoli & Pawlowski 2004). It is a systematic, multiple-step process to solicit and collect information from respondents who are experts in a subject area. The design of a Delphi study is flexible and responsive to the actual data collection process. The number of rounds of data collection is contingent on the emergence of consensus which, although mainly based on majority view, is achieved without respondents feeling they are being judged (Geist 2010). Delphi also allows respondents to respond to emerging ideas during the research process in a time-effective manner (Tersine & Riggs 1976). In the absence of a face-to-face group discussion, respondents can express and exchange ideas freely in a confidential and anonymous fashion (Okoli & Pawlowski 2004).

Respondents

Following the Delphi tradition, respondents in our study were presumed to be experts in community-based research. Prior to this study, the Steering Committee organized several events to promote CBR on campus. An email list of approximately 200 CBR research practitioners was compiled. Phone, email and in-person invitations to take part in the study were sent to all registered researchers. We also invited people on the list to refer to us other CBR researchers who might be interested in participating, and an email was sent to all university Deans with a request to forward the invitation to members of their faculties who may have been actively involved in CBR. We also invited researchers who confirmed their participation to recommend at least one of their community partners take part in this study. A total

of 106 people, including 50 faculty researchers, 37 community partners and 19 staff, who are research staff supporting and working on CBR research projects conducted by faculty researchers, were finally confirmed. They were invited to participate in three rounds of data collection, which were to take place from April to July 2015. Generally, Delphi prefers a stable and small group of respondents throughout the process. However, as it was difficult to monitor this large group of respondents, particularly when their participation was anonymous due to a requirement of the institutional ethics review protocol, ultimately only 70 of the 106 (66 per cent) confirmed participants took part in the first round of the survey. Attrition rate in Round 2 was 38.6 per cent and in Round 3, 48.6 per cent. Despite this, as noted in Table 1, there was a fair representation from faculty, community partners and staff in all three rounds. However, due to the small sample and the purpose of the study, we did not compare the answers from these three groups of respondents.

First, in terms of importance, respondents proposed a similar ranking of the categorical VPs for both their own CBR practice and their expectation of their institutions. However, 67 VPs were considered to be relevant or very relevant to respondents' own CBR practice compared to 33 for the institution; among the 33 itemised VPs deemed relevant to the university community, eight (24 per cent) concern 'Accountability'. In other words, there is a perception that the institution is concerned most with accountability and publications and less with relationship building, which accords with the broader neoliberal context. CBR researchers, even those who resist the characterization of CBR as political, seem to want to insert ethical considerations into research processes, while the university is more concerned with measurable outcomes in terms of publications. Finally, principles such as 'Values process and outcomes', 'Long-term relationships' and 'Reflexivity' seem to matter to respondents' own practice more than to that of the university as an institution. This may reflect respondents' perception of the administrative emphasis of the university as an institutional organization or a cynical attitude on the part of researchers who feel their research is not held in high regard by their institution. Indeed, it is this perceived lack of regard that lay behind the creation of the CBR initiative at the university in question.

Questions of power are inherently political because, in broad terms, politics concerns the distribution of power and resources in society. Coming from social work, education and geography disciplinary backgrounds, we had understood CBR and indeed all research to be 'political'. However, some of the responses we received to the survey reveal that this is not the view of all CBR researchers. Here we explore the implications of respondents' differing perspectives on equality/equity, anti-oppression and objectivity.

To be critical of power relationships implies the desire for change. We expected to see these concerns reflected in our findings. Although 'Action for positive social change' remained important for many participants, 'Transformation of fundamental structures' was removed after the first round. Once again, the more overtly political actions tended to be rejected. In other words, there was some agreement that action is an important principle of CBR, but much less agreement

on the nature of the action, for example, whether the goal of action is to further decolonization or something more mundane (e.g. publication of a report). This goes to the heart of the disagreement among participants: is CBR a political research approach aimed at action to improve lives, or is it an objective research approach that seeks to create new knowledge? Can it be both?

Implications for future research

Based on the findings and our related reflections, we propose the following additional questions about CBR may be worth exploring further:

What does 'political' mean in the context of CBR, and how political should CBR be?

As a research method, should CBR have a 'predetermined' outcome?

Does CBR require different forms of accountability compared to other methodologies?

Is 'action' an objective of CBR? What is the relationship between CBR, action and justice?

Is CBR only for marginalised/colonised groups? To what extent should CBR be informed by a particular discourse?

Is there any element that distinguishes CBR from other research approaches on which all CBR researchers could agree? Should CBR be defined?

To conclude, CBR is a growing research approach increasingly being adopted by researchers from diverse disciplines. While the findings reported here may fill a gap in the literature on which values and principles matter to CBR, they also raise additional questions for further exploration. The diverse perspectives on the political and action-oriented nature of CBR comprise an important issue that researchers and community members who-se work comes under the CBR banner should address as more and more academic institutions begin to emphasize the importance of community-based research.

NOTE: Readers who would like to view the complete list of itemized VPs should contact the lead author.

One of the chief responsibilities of institutions of higher learning is providing students with appropriate disciplinary knowledge, skills and experiences that prepare them to tackle the multitude of issues they will encounter when they enter the workforce. Attention to the role of universities in preparing youth for the workforce has intensified in recent years, especially in African countries where there has been exponential growth in university enrolment and concerns raised about the quality of education students are receiving (Gudo, Olel & Oanda 2011; Nyangau 2014; Odhiambo 2014; Waruru 2015). Community-based learning (CBL) experiences such as service-learning, practicums and internship opportunities for undergraduate students are increasingly becoming an integral component of African higher education (Dorasamy & Pillay 2010; Ferguson & Smith 2012). While there are many variations in how CBL is defined, there is broad consensus that this form of learning involves relevant and meaningful service activities in community settings to assist students in integrating their academic knowledge with practice in the field, providing them with opportunities to reflect critically on their learning

and achieve academic, personal and civic learning objectives (Clayton, Bringle & Hatcher 2013).

Tables 1, 2, & 3

Negotiation Strategies for a Range of Situations –How to assess and succeed in the various negotiation situations that arise daily and at the inflection points in our careers, without falling victim to gender stereotypes. Whether it be for an initial salary at a new job, a raise, a compromise on an issue in a project or at the office etc.

Leader: **Deborah Weintraub,** AIA, LEED AP – Chief Deputy City Engineer, Bureau of Engineering, Department of Public Works, City of Los Angeles

Deborah is the Chief Deputy City Engineer for the Bureau of Engineering, and the highest-ranking architect in the City. She provides leadership for an integrated architecture and engineering organization of approximately 950 people, with approximately 480 active projects totaling $3.6 billion. The projects she oversees include LA River projects, cultural facilities, homeless facilities, transportation facilities, recreational buildings, parks, general office facilities, and bridges. Deborah has been integral to the Los Angeles River Revitalization effort and the new Sixth Street Viaduct project. Currently she is leading the site design for the 41 acre River-adjacent Taylor Yard open space project, and for the new 12 acre park that will be built as part of the Sixth Street Viaduct.

Leader: **Claudia Carol,** AIA, LEED AP, ND – Cities & Communities, Global Leader and Studio Director, Gensler

Claudia is a Cities & Communities Leader and a Studio Director in the Los Angeles office, providing thought leadership and design management for a diverse portfolio of planning and urban design projects. As a licensed architect with many years of experience in landscape architecture, Claudia has an exceptional perspective on the interface of the natural and built environment. Her wide range of experience — from urban revitalization and academic campuses to entertainment destinations and healthcare centers — gives her unique insight into addressing complex issues. Claudia's passion is using urban design strategies for social good. She has won numerous accolades for her work, including from the AIA and the American Planning Association for the Willowbrook MLK Wellness Community and the Santa Ana South Main Street Vision. Claudia earned a Master's in Architecture from UCLA's School of Architecture and Urban Design, a Bachelor's of Fine Arts degree from California Institute of the Arts, and attended the Architectural Association.

Leader: **Katherine Perez-Estolano** – Associate Principal & Cities Leader, Arup

Katherine Perez-Estolano is an expert in urban planning, transportation, and stakeholder engagement. In the planning and land use field, she is highly regarded for developing complex public participation strategies that require collaboration among multi-cultural communities. With her background in community development, private real estate development, transportation policy and urban planning,

she is recognized as a leader in the planning and development fields and speaks at conferences throughout the country.

Throughout her life, Katherine has served on numerous boards and commissions demonstrating her commitment to public service. She has served on many Pasadena based organizations such as Latinos for Economic Advancement and Development (LEAD), Pasadena Heritage, and the Pasadena City College Latino Advisory Committee. She served on Pasadena's Transportation Commission and Commission for the Status of Women. She has also been actively involved with leadership groups such as HOPE (Hispanas Organized for Political Equality), National Latina Alliance, NOW (National Organization for Women), New Economics for Women, and Adelante Mujer. She was a member of the Advisory Board of the USC Ross Minority Program in Real Estate and is actively involved with the UCLA Alumni Council. She has served on national boards including the Alliance for Regional Stewardship and the US High Speed Rail Association. In 1999, Katherine graduated from the HOPE Leadership Institute, a program created to train Latinas to run for public office.

Katherine is an Adjunct Professor at the USC School of Planning and Development. She co-designed and teaches a course in public participation in planning and land use. In addition, she co-taught a TOD Urban Design and Proforma Studio which analyzed the Expo Crenshaw Station. Katherine has also served as an Adjunct Professor at the UCLA School of Public Affairs and taught a TOD Urban Design and Proforma course that provided students with design and finance skills.

Katherine joined Arup in 2017 as Associate Principal and leads the Transaction Advice group in the Los Angeles office. She received her Master's Degree in Urban Planning and Transportation from UCLA and her Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from California State University Northridge.

Tables 4 & 5

The Art of Communication – Tips and tools to become a more effective communicator to enhance your role and improve project performance.

Leader: **Valerie DeLoach**, AIA, LEED AP – Project Manager, HDR Architecture

As the Project Manager, Valerie is a design-oriented collaborator that serves as the daily "point-of-contact" from project conception through project completion. She is responsible for adherence to project goals, budget and schedule. Valerie has 14 years of experience directing design teams to complete complex building projects on time within strict budgetary constraints. Her experience includes a multitude of project types from healthcare to education to cultural facilities including interiors, base building architecture, urban design and master planning.

Leader: **Amie Nulman**, SE, PE – Associate Principal & Structural Engineer, Arup

Amie Nulman is a Structural Engineer and Associate Principal in the Buildings team in the Los Angeles office of Arup. In addition to structural system design, Amie project manages large building projects across various markets including commercial, arts and culture, education and government. Amie's comprehensive communication skills have been developed over her 18 years of practice in three

Arup offices – Boston, London and Los Angeles – delivering multi-disciplinary engineering on three continents. Together with successful communications, Amie has a keen interest in working mindfully with owners, architects and other engineering disciplines to develop holistic, simple and elegant design solutions.

Table 6

Charting your Career Path – Generalist or specialist? Doing the type of work you want in the type of environment you want.

Leader: **Kate Diamond,** FAIA, LEED AP – Design Director, HDR Architecture

Kate is passionate about planning effective, high performance courthouses that create powerful symbols of the role of justice in our democratic society. She has a breadth of experience and talent, with an award-winning and well-published portfolio that encompasses justice, federal, state and local government, K-12 through university, transportation and infrastructure. At HDR, she oversees design for civic, science + technology and academic projects.

Recognized as a true advocate for design in the Los Angeles architecture community and beyond, Kate is known by her peers as a dynamic and fluid team member committed to elevating the industry through her work and involvement. Among her many accomplishments, Kate has served on the National Peer Review Council for the GSA Design Excellence Program since 1996. She was the lead designer for three major GSA Design Excellence completed projects, as well as the lead designer for a major GSA Design Build | Design Excellence competition. Additionally she has taught at the USC School of Architecture and was the first woman president of the AIA LA Chapter.

Table 7

Career Path Goal Setting – Long or short term, big or small. This session will rely on discussion and brainstorming to come up with realistic and concrete actions we can take toward achieving our goals.

Leader: **Audrey Sato,** AIA, LEED AP – Principal, Sato Architects

Audrey Sato is the principal at Sato Architects, an educator at Cal Poly Pomona, and host of the XX|LA Architects Podcast. Her work largely focuses on building strong relationships in order to create meaningful places. Audrey has specialized in residential design for the past 10 years, with additional expertise in historic preservation.

Table 8

Entrepreneurship –Making the leap from architecture to entrepreneurship, or benefiting from bringing entrepreneurial strategies into architectural practice. Entrepreneurial hesitancy, starting your own firm, maintaining and growing a small firm.

Leader: **Emmanuelle Bourlier** – Co-Founder & CEO, Panelite

Emmanuelle Bourlier co-founded Panelite in 1998 and is the company's CEO. Emmanuelle's focus is on developing innovative, energy-efficient materials for ar-

chitecture. Panelite pioneered the first translucent honeycomb panel and is a leader in the architectural application of honeycomb technology, holding six US patents. The company's ClearShade honeycomb glazing was selected in 2011 by Lawrence Berkeley National Labs (LBNL) / Department of Energy (DOE) as a promising energy-saving daylighting solution for façades, skylights and clerestories and has been integrated into LBNL's building performance analysis tools.

Focusing on resource-efficiency and sustainability since before these factors were mandated, Panelite develops interior and exterior grade product lines that outdo other translucent alternatives with environmental benefits including low embodied energy, high strength to weight ratio, optimal daylighting, and outstanding solar shading. Panelite has worked with leading architectural firms including OMA, Herzog & de Meuron, Gensler, HOK, and Perkins + Will, for clients such as JetBlue, Google, IIT, Audi, and numerous corporate offices, hospitals, schools and universities.

Prior to founding Panelite, Emmanuelle worked in architectural design offices including S. Russell Groves in New York and Christian Biecher Architectes in Paris. She holds a B.A. in Architecture from UC Berkeley, an M. Arch from Columbia University and a Certificate in General Management from UCLA's Anderson School of Business (Executive Program). Emmanuelle is a steering committee member of the AIA|LA's Women in Architecture initiative and a frequent participant in the AIA|LA conference POWERFUL. She speaks on entrepreneurship.

Table 9 & 10

Talent Retention and Professional Development Strategies/ Retaining Bright Young Women – An equity-based approach to talent retention and professional development – tools and rewards. Growing young women 4-10 years of experience, identifying and addressing hurdles in meaningful ways.

Leader: **Dani Paxson**, SE – Associate, KPFF Consulting Engineers

Dani Paxson is a practicing Structural Engineer and an Associate with KPFF Consulting Engineers, a multi-disciplinary engineering firm with more than 1,000 employees nation-wide. Dani has been with KPFF Los Angeles since 2004. She is a licensed Structural Engineer in the state of California, a LEED Accredited Professional and DBIA Associate. With 25 years of experience, she has managed a wide variety of projects, from large institutional developments to small tenant improvements, spanning a range of market sectors including healthcare, retail, residential, parking and sports facilities. Dani thrives in the midst of dynamic, collaborative teams as her strength lies in her ability to facilitate collaboration between owners, consultants and contractors to produce cost and schedule-conscious solutions. She has served on the California Building Standards Commission, the Cal Poly SLO advisory board and several industry committees.

As part of her ongoing commitment to bring greater diversity to the profession, Dani serves on the Executive Board of Directors for Women in Construction Operations (WiOPS), is an active member of the NCSEA and SEAONC Structural Engineering Engagement and Equity (SE3) Committees, and has served on the planning committees for the 2015 and 2016 AIA | Los Angeles Powerful Conferences.

She also spearheads the Women's network in KPFF's Los Angeles office. In her spare time, Dani relentlessly seeks outdoor adventure, travel and soaking up information related to gender diversity, inclusion and engagement.

Leader: **Lindsay Urquhart** – CEO & Founder, Bespoke Careers

Lindsay is a registered British Architect and is the Founding Director of Bespoke Careers. Lindsay grew up in the UK, obtaining her Part I from Oxford Brooks, her Part II from the University of Westminster and her Part III at South Bank University. In 1997 she was nominated for the RIBA Silver Medal. Prior to establishing Bespoke Careers in 2004, Lindsay worked in practice for Wilkinson Eyre Architects and Perkins + Will in London and Denton Corker Marshall in Hong Kong and Sydney. Bespoke Careers is a leading international architectural careers agency with offices in London, Sydney, Melbourne, New York and Los Angeles. Although Lindsay doesn't design anymore, she spends her time helping incredible individuals shape their careers and build brilliant teams.

Tables 11 & 12

Implementing Equitable Processes and Procedures – Where to start, what to expect, how to ensure success.

Leader: **Marisa Kurtzman**, Architect, LEED AP – Associate, Frederick Fisher and Partners

Marisa Kurtzman, Architect, LEED AP brings energy and focus to spearheading Frederick Fisher and Partners' visioning, programming, and planning work – recent projects include the Natural History Museum of LA County's West-South Expansion, USC's Iovine and Young Hall, and an addition to Santa Monica's historic City Hall. A linguist and a "people person," Marisa loves finding out what makes institutions and organizations tick, and then translating those values and goals into design concepts that are expressive of their distinct identities. Marisa firmly believes in equity in the design workplace. At FF&P she actively participates in leading progressive hiring practices, outreach initiatives, and workplace policy implementation. Outside of work, she co-chairs the Advocacy Committee for the Association for Women in Architecture + Design. Marisa received her Bachelor of Arts from Wesleyan University, and her Master of Architecture from Yale. She also enjoys seeking out quirky cultural activities around town, reading, listening to public radio, and travel.

Leader: **Patricia Rhee**, AIA, DBIA – Partner, Ehrlich Yanai Rhee Chaney Architects

Patricia Rhee, AIA, DBIA is a Partner at Ehrlich Yanai Rhee Chaney Architects, the firm was awarded the 2015 National AIA Firm Award, one of the industry's highest honors. Patricia has served as Lead Designer for many of the firm's award-winning institutional, civic and commercial projects. Patricia received her Master's degree in Architecture from Harvard's Graduate School of Design and received her Bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. Patricia was a Founding Co-Chair of the AIA Los Angeles Women in Architecture committee and was actively

involved in planning the inaugural POWERFUL Women in Design Symposiums. She is currently on the Board of the Culver City Chamber of Commerce as well as the Economic Development Committee and recipient of the 2017 Culver City Women in Business Council Visionary Award.

Table 13

Work/Life Balance (not only for parents!) – Equitable Flexibility: The "Life" component of Work/Life varies tremendously. How can an equitable approach take into account different life priorities and needs?

Leader: **Tara Bauer**, AIA – Project Manager, Jensen + Partners

Tara is a licensed Architect, and provides project support with high-level design for Jensen + Partners. Tara works directly with master planners, and managers programming, concept costing, architectural test fits, and digital model-making. Tara has built many relationships with planning, building, and fire departments as well as other consultants. She is adept at balancing client needs, budgets, engineering requirements, and municipal constraints. Throughout her career she has been involved in the development of construction drawings from schematic design through job completion, and her fluency in this process is a valuable asset to Jensen + Partners' clients.

Table 14

Interviewing and Networking Tips – Tips to make a powerful impression whether in an interview or a networking situation.

Leader: **Melanie Freeland**, AIA, LEED AP – Senior Project Designer, Rios Clementi Hale Studios

Melanie is a licensed Architect, LEED BD+C certified, and was recently named AIACC Young Architect of 2017. Her portfolio includes over a dozen built projects in the US and overseas in a variety of scales and program types. Melanie brings an infectious enthusiasm for creativity and diligent work ethic to the profession. She is a founding member of The Breakfast Club, a gender equity initiative started at Gensler LA now extended to offices around the world. She routinely speaks at women empowerment events including Lady Boss at the Ace Hotel and is Co-Chair of the WiA AIA|LA. She has co-authored a piece for the AIA|LA newsletter, Architecture and Civic Engagement, A Call to Action. In 2016, she was elected to the Historic Highland Park Neighborhood Council to represent the community of 60k plus residents. Outside of the office, you might find her exploring the city on two wheels with her husband and young son.

Tables 15 & 16

Mentorship: topics including the benefits and challenges of formal mentorship programs, the keys to good mentoring relationships and how mentoring is essential to advancing women's careers.

Leader: **Anne Fletcher,** AIA, LEED AP – Managing Principal, HOK Los Angeles

Anne Fletcher, AIA, LEED AP, is the managing principal of HOK's Los Angeles office and a member of the firm's board of directors and management board. With more than two decades of experience in the design and real estate industries, Anne is responsible for the strategic direction and overall performance of the Los Angeles practice. She has a unique ability to guide teams in translating client priorities, expectations and requirements into elegant, efficient and buildable design solutions. Anne is active in the Urban Land Institute on the national Urban Development Mixed-Use Council (UDMUC-Red), and also chairs the Mixed-Use Council of the organization's New York chapter. In addition, she is a member of WX Women Executives in Real Estate and served on the board of Women in Housing & Finance.

Leader: **Monica Rodriguez**, AIA – Senior Associate, KFA

Monica celebrated her 10-year anniversary with KFA in August 2016, and was recently promoted to Senior Associate. She is the project manager for the Ivy Station project in Culver City. As a native of East Los Angeles and second generation Mexican-American, she is especially proud of having worked on the Hollenbeck Terrace Apartments affordable housing project in Boyle Heights. Monica's strengths lie in client and consultant coordination, design development, construction administration, and permitting of highly complex projects. She volunteers at a number of organizations; in 2011 Monica co-developed the year-long 6th Grade Architecture Mentor Program at Para Los Niños Elementary School.

Table 17

Board Membership: Where to Start? – Interested in joining a board? How to get started, what to expect, different types of Boards. How to choose and get on a board, whether directly in the architecture field or indirectly (art, publications, environment, and business.) Data show that women on boards are good for business. Board membership is an excellent way to effect change, gain experience, and make connections.

Leader: **Carissa Oyedele**, AIA, LEED BD+C – Associate Principal, Moore Ruble Yudell Architects & Planners and Director on 2018 AIA|LA Board of Directors

Carissa received a Bachelor of Architecture degree with a minor in Construction Management from California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo. Her education provided a solid foundation for solving creative design solutions to various project types, including those with complex programs, schedules, and delivery methods. With project experience ranging from masterplans to competitions, mixed-use, campus, and civic work, Carissa's breadth of experience extends into local, national, and international communities. Carissa is an active member and a Director of the AIA|LA, an IDP Coordinator, and an NCARB Licensing Advisor. In addition, she is a new mom to baby boy Kayden, which provides a new and wonderful challenge of trying to master the work-life balance in order to enjoy more time at home.

Table 18

Architectural Firm Roles: project designer, project manager, project architect / How do you position yourself for the role you are most interested in? How to gain experience in a role?

Leader: **Julie Smith-Clementi** – Partner and Creative Director, Rios Clementi Hale Studios, President/CEO of notNeutral

Julie views the multidisciplinary design process as an opportunity to create spaces that both engage and inspire the people who inhabit them. Since joining RCHS in 1989, she has been integral in the development of countless award-winning projects. Julie is at her best when uniting her passions for architecture and interior design to create holistic environments, designing not only the boundaries of a space, but also the graphics, furnishings, and fixtures that make it inviting. Her experience in crafting acclaimed interiors persuaded her that our firm should also design, manufacture, and sell furnishings that bring rooms to life.

Tables 19 & 20

Alternate Career Paths: Architects and those trained in architecture practice in a wide variety of ways, within architecture and in allied professions. This is an opportunity to explore different options and share experience.

Leader: **Tanya Paz**, Assoc. AIA – Senior Designer, CAMA

In 2016, Tanya joined CAMA to launch a West Coast office, marrying her interest in design, wellness, and health policy with CAMA's mission to empower well-being through design.

Tanya's previous work took her from Rwanda to Latin America, notably as a Fulbright Scholar funded to evaluate new processes for design and health access in resource-limited settings. She later spent several years building MASS Design Group's US practice, deploying human-centered design methodologies to support the delivery of care domestically and abroad. Much of her work focused on applying knowledge gained from their projects overseas to health facilities in the US. Tanya leveraged this process joining SOM and later Gensler in the Health & Wellness Practice Area. Tanya received her Bachelor of Arts from Tufts University and her Masters in Architecture from Harvard University's Graduate School of Design.

Leader: **Patti Harburg-Petrich**, Affiliate AIA|LA – Associate Principal, BuroHappold Engineering

Patti Harburg-Petrich, SE, LEED AP BD+C is an Associate Principal at BuroHappold Engineering. She has a passion for aviation and transportation projects, historic retrofit, sustainable design and community-centric work. Patti is a licensed Structural Engineer in the state of California, LEED Accredited Professional, Building Design + Construction, and certified Disaster Service Worker for the State of California Safety Assessment Program. She serves on the board of the ACE

Mentor Program, the Southern California Development Forum, and the Structural Engineers Association of Southern California. Patti chairs the ASCE Structural Engineering Institute Public Relations Committee and serves on the board of the ASCE SEI BPAD Executive Committee.

Table 21
How to Handle Sexual Harassment and Gender Discrimination

Leader: **Petrina Gooch**, Assoc. AIA – Principal & Corporate Human Resources Leader, HED

Petrina KM Gooch, SPHR, SHRM SCP has been with Harley Ellis Devereaux (HED) since 2008 and is the Principal, Corporate HR Leader, and serves on the firm's Board of Directors. Additionally, she currently serves as an Executive Committee member of the AIA Human Resources Large Firm Round Table(LFRT) subcommittee, and is part of the AIA LFRT CEO Diversity Task Force. For the past 25 years, Ms. Gooch's career in Human Resources Management and Leadership has spanned the private and public sectors, as well as the professional service and labor industries. Additionally, Ms. Gooch has provided independent Human Resources consulting services. Ms. Gooch has also served as an adjunct instructor for Biola University, where she shared her professional passion teaching business courses focused on Human Resources Management and Group Organizational Behavior. In 2014, Ms. Gooch was privileged to be a guest lecturer at the Peter Drucker Graduate School of Management for a graduate course on total compensation.

Ms. Gooch earned a Master's degree in Organizational Leadership from Biola University and a Bachelor's degree in Industrial/Organizational Psychology from Pepperdine University. Ms. Gooch is a member of the Society of Human Resources Management, as well as the Professionals in Human Resources Association (PIHRA), where she served as a volunteer on the District 1 Board of Directors in the role of Vice-Chair and Treasurer, from 2009 – 2013. From 2002 through 2010, Ms. Gooch was appointed to the City of Whittier, CA Personnel Board and completed two 4-year terms of service. She and her family have resided in Whittier since 1999.

Table 22
Building a Flexible Practice: Diverse interests, projects and locations can be reflected in an innovative and flexible practice.

Leader: **Elissa Scrafano**, AIA – Principal, Scrafano Architects

Elissa Scrafano, AIA, is principal and founder of Scrafano Architects. She has been practicing architecture for more than 25 years, and is a registered architect in Illinois, Michigan, and California. Elissa received a B.S. in Architecture from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor with a concentration in art history, and a Master's in Architecture from SCI-Arc in Los Angeles. Before establishing her own business, Elissa worked at the offices of Frank O. Gehry and Associates, Eric Owen

Moss Architects, Narduli Grinstein Architects, and Landworth Debolske Architects. Scrafano Architects was established twenty years ago designing corporate offices, commercial retail boutiques, cafes, restaurants, and residential projects of all sizes and scales including new construction, renovation and restoration. Their work appears throughout the globe commissioned by clients from all over the world. Scrafano Architects is one office with two locations – Los Angeles and Chicago. Both offices work together as one team sharing efforts, knowledge, and ideas in a collaborative studio environment that encourages open exchange. The majority of the designers are women with specialized talents that range from architecture, interior design, space planning, color theory, furniture and landscape design, woodworking, jewelry making, painting, graphics, music, and writing. They draw from broad and diverse experiences during the entire design process, and are practicing architects, educators, and active in community outreach. Scrafano Architects has received several Design AIA awards and has been featured in Dwell, The Los Angeles Times, Chicago Social, Western Interiors, Chicago Tribune, Midwest Home, and other publications. Elissa is honored to be appointed to the Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Commission by Mayor Eric Garcetti, and previously served on the Cultural Heritage Commission.

Tables 23 & 24

Talking to Your (Future) Client– Engaging and retaining new clients requires strong communication and relationship building skills. This will be an opportunity to learn from experts and to share tips and experiences.

Leader: **Helena Jubany**, FAIA, LEED AP, CASp – Managing Principal, NAC Architecture

Helena Jubany is the Managing Principal of the Los Angeles office of NAC Architecture. Throughout her career of over 30 years, Helena has advanced her practice by developing a collaborative and inclusive process that promoted diversity and advocated for outstanding design with a focus on educational facilities. Helena was elevated to the College of the Fellows of The American Institute of Architects in 2013 for her contribution in advancing architectural practice by creating opportunities to empower minority and women architects, exemplifying the leadership position of the architect in the public realm, and elevating the architect's role in the community. Helena currently serves as President for local chapter of the Association for Learning Environments, Immediate Past Chair of the Board of A Community of Friends (ACOF), a non-profit organization focused in providing permanent supportive housing for homeless people with mental illness. She is the Chair of the Design Control Board for Marina Del Rey, one of the world largest man made small craft harbor. In the past, she served as President of the Commission for the Los Angeles Building & Safety Department, President of the Asian American Architects/Engineers Association, Counsel Member of the Mayor of Los Angeles Food Policy Council, and as a Board Member for the American Institute of Architects, Los Angeles Chapter. In addition to her practice, Helena teaches as an adjunct professor at Woodbury University to 5th year architectural students.

Leader: **Elizabeth Valmont**, Assoc. AIA, Ph.D, LEED AP – Acoustic Consultant Lead & Associate, Arup

Dr. Elizabeth Valmont leads the Acoustic, Audio Visual & Theater consulting team in Los Angeles. She has thirteen years of experience in the acoustic design and engineering field with an expertise in room acoustics, exterior and interior noise control, and building systems noise and vibration. While at Arup, Elizabeth has led the design and management of global projects in various sectors including arts and culture, aviation, education, government, healthcare, commercial, rail, retail and sports. Elizabeth previously worked at Veneklasen Associates where she was involved in a range of building projects of various types and scale, primarily in Southern California. Elizabeth has been a University instructor at the USC School of Architecture for building science programs since 2005 and has a long history as a prolific presenter in professional and academic arenas.

Elizabeth has a Bachelor in Architecture (BARCH), a Master of Building Science (MBS) and a Doctorate of Philosophy in Architecture (PhD Arch) from the University of Southern California. She is the Equality, Diversity & Inclusion Leader for Arup Los Angeles and is on the Health Guidelines Revision Committee for the 2022 Facilities Guideline Institute Revision Cycle. As a classically trained musician and architect, Elizabeth is particularly interested in immersive environments. Her versatile skillsets have intuitively influenced her practice to enable design innovation and effective opportunities in acoustics and technology.

Table 25

Advocating for Equity topics to include an example of a diversity plan that can be tailored for different settings, hiring, promoting and mentoring.

Leader: **Ingalill Wahlroos-Ritter**, FAIA – Dean, Woodbury School of Architecture

Ingalill Wahlroos-Ritter is an architect, educator, and design consultant specializing in the building envelope and the experimental architectural use of glass. Currently Dean of the School of Architecture at Woodbury University, she has taught at Yale, Cornell, the Bartlett, and SCI-Arc. She is also Director of WUHO, the Woodbury University Hollywood gallery, a venue for experimental installations, public lectures and workshops. She currently serves on the LA Forum Board of Directors.

The work of her collaborative office, WROAD, navigates transdisciplinary territory in the diverse type and scale of projects. She has collaborated on multiple award-winning projects including as façade consultant on Bloom with DoSu Architects, the Portland Aerial Tramway with AGPS, the Centre Pompidou exhibition, Continuities of the Incomplete, with Morphosis, and as project architect for the Corning Museum of Glass with Smith-Miller + Hawkinson.

Table 26

"Lean-In" Initiative: Women, Work, Well-Being and the Will to Lead: Inspired by the book Lean-In by Sheryl Sandburg, COO of Facebook, Michelle

will talk about how female architects should be more assertive at work and not let biases keep them from pushing forward. They should seek challenges, take risks and pursue their goals with gust and avoid (unintentionally) holding themselves back in their career. She will also talk about challenges to create a well-balanced work and family life and still have a will to lead.

Leader: **Michelle Ferial Asadies**, AIA, ARB, LEED AP – Senior Associate, Puchlik Design

With over 18 years of experience in the architecture and construction industry in the US, UK and Asia, Michelle Ferial Asadies brings her expertise in programming, medical planning, design and management to a range of healthcare, educational and institutional projects at Puchlik Design Associates (PDA).

Since joining PDA, a medium size architectural practice specialized in healthcare, Michelle has spent the last 7 years developing successful client relationships and establishing new partnerships, while focusing on the growth and development of the firm and advancing PDA's vision of "transforming design and shifting the paradigm."

As a Design and Programming Leader in the office, she seeks opportunities to innovate through design to improve the evolving healthcare environments and mentor a new breed of healthcare architects through monthly workshop sessions at PDA's Design Lab360.

She is the co-founder of AIA Pasadena and Foothill Architecture in Healthcare Committee and serves as a member of the AIA|LA Architecture in Healthcare steering committee.

Table 27

Redefine Your Tribe: The session will focus on the benefits of a career transition and how it positively impact your work, firm, clients and "new (architectural) community".

Leader: **Simone Barth-Auster**, Assoc. AIA, LEED AP – Senior Associate, Moore Ruble Yudell Architects and Planners

Born in Ueberlingen, Germany, following a family tradition, Simone completed a carpenter apprenticeship before she studied and gained her master of architecture and diploma of engineering from the University of Applied Sciences Stuttgart. Simone joined Moore Ruble Yudell in 2003, where she gained valuable experience with diverse project types. As project manager and integral member of the design team Simone contributed to the planning and execution of a wide range of award-winning civic, academic and educational buildings. Simone has been leading Moore Ruble Yudell's sustainability and research portfolio group for over ten years and is responsible for education, implementation and administration of the firm's sustainable principles and values. With over thirteen years of professional experience and a strong interest in craft, stewardship and innovation Simone's talent lies in the synthesis of management, uncompromising attention to detail, and strong design sensibility. A dedicated collaborator, she has the enthusiasm and en-

ergy to develop and execute contemporary planning and design solutions appropriate to culture, site and climate.

During the recent completed UMKC Henry W. Bloch Executive Hall for Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Kansas City and the Brown School of Social Work Hillman Hall at Washington University in St. Louis, Simone effectively coordinated large client and consultant teams, fast – track schedules and complex programs with attention to design, constructability and budget. Simone pairs her architectural expertise with in-depth knowledge of large – scale urban and campus planning projects. Her sensitivity to place, culture and client needs combined with the ability to coordinate and facilitate multi-faceted client, consultant team and user groups was applied on a variety of institutional, residential, and mixed use urban projects.

Nurturing a strong commitment to outreach, mentorship, and teaching Simone taught a design studio at UNITEC in Auckland, New Zealand and Jinan University, China in 2013 and participated as assistant at the 2010 Glenn Murcutt Master Class in Sydney. Since 2004, Simone has taught with James Mary O'Connor in the Architecture & Interior Design Program at University of California, Los Angeles Extension. Simone lectured at UNITEC in Auckland, New Zealand, UTS in Sydney, Australia and the University of Applied Sciences Stuttgart, Germany and has been invited as a guest critic at Woodbury University, the University of Southern California and the 2013 Glenn Murcutt Master Class. As current Vice-Chair of the AIA COTE (Committee of the Environment) and WIA committee member Simone maintains strong connections with the design community at large. She is an active member of the AIA Los Angeles Chapter as well as the USGBC – LA Chapter.

Table 28

Advocacy- Finding Your Voice and Taking Action: Would you like to take action but don't know where to start? What actions are effective? Here's a chance to discuss how to begin to think strategically about advocacy.

Leader: **Andy Lantz** – Creative Director, Rios Clementi Hale Studios

Since Andy joined Rios Clementi Hale Studios in 2011, his design perspective, style, and aesthetic have played important roles on numerous projects. Andy's depth of experience in sensory deprivation and replacement informs his ability to design places and spaces that engage the complete sensory experience — sound, smell, and touch, in addition to their sight. As a result, his projects possess a textural component, from the grain of the custom sculptural wood reception desk at 600 Congress in Austin to the ephemeral softness of the felt that arrays the ceiling at the Hollywood Bowl Artist Lounge.

Tables 29 & 30

Starting Your Own Practice- You know more than you think!

Leader: **Taryn Bone**, Assoc. AIA – Principal, Bone Collective Studio

Taryn Bone, Assoc. AIA is Principal and Owner of Bone Collective Studio, a design studio where she creates boutique spaces for people to live, work, and play. She is also an educator, teaching undergraduate studios in Cal-Poly Pomona's architecture department. Taryn served in the Army Reserves from 2003-2011 with two twelve month long deployments to the Middle East. She holds a Master of Architecture degree from the Southern California Institute of Architecture and a Bachelor of Science in Architectural Studies and Interior Design from the University of Missouri.

Leader: **Jennifer Luce**, FAIA – Principal & Founder, LUCE et Studio

Jennifer Luce, FAIA designs spaces where creative work is made, performed, preserved, or shown in its best light. Her firm, LUCE et studio, is known for research and applications of new technological materials and innovative fabrications, and its core expertise is in architecture, urban design, interior architecture, and graphic design. The firm maintains a strong identity in the international architectural community. Born and raised in Montreal, Canada, Jennifer Luce received her Bachelor of Architecture (with distinction) from Carleton University, Ottawa, in 1984. Luce began her career winning an international competition to design the Center for Innovative Technology (CIT), located near Washington D.C.—the first "smart" building in the United States. Luce completed the CIT project in 1988 in association with Arquitectonica International of Miami, Florida and Martha Schwartz Landscape Architects.

In 1990, she established LUCE et studio, a multidisciplinary architectural practice in southern California. In 1994, she completed a Master of Design Studies degree from Harvard University. Luce has refined a highly unique and successful art-based process for civic, community, corporate, and private projects. The studio has built award-winning buildings and collaborative spaces for creative design companies—Nissan Design America, Disney, and Steelcase, for example.

Currently, LUCE et studio is redesigning the Mingei International Museum in San Diego's historic Balboa Park. The studio balances large-scale work with residential commissions, interior architecture, and furniture design. Luce's projects have been exhibited at the Museum of Contemporary Art in La Jolla and the Pasadena Museum of Art. The studio was named Design Vanguard by Architectural Record in 2005, received a 2006 Business Week Award for Design Innovation, and has received twenty-one honors and awards from the American Institute of Architects. In 2016, Luce was elected to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects. She is currently the Shimizu Visiting Professor at Stanford University and holds an appointed Graduate Director position at the Harvard Alumni Association.

Table 31

The Value of a Strategic Plan- Get a better understanding of how you/your firm got to where you are now. Where you want to go and a vision for success. What might get in your way of realizing that success and areas that require your

attention. What do you need to get there, and how do you build in the agility you need in a very active and disruptive world.

Leader: **Phyllis Dubinsky,** Affiliate AIA|LA – Consulting Principal, Vantage Technology Consulting Group

During her 25+-year career, Phyllis has been in leadership/principal roles for smaller regional practices and multi-national architecture and architecture/engineering firms. Known for her laser sharp ability to clearly define future oriented approaches and solutions, her greatest successes have been in discovering solutions and jump-starting and positioning firms in markets either previously untapped or dormant, positioning firms ahead of the next wave in these markets. She also has gained a national reputation as an innovator and educator, which is often fueled by her insatiable curiosity. Specialty areas are: Strategic planning, new market entry, branding and identity, market research and application of that research, client development, business development, often successfully matching disparate components. Urban Design and Health Impact issues are strong drivers for her. Education and community involvement are very much at her core, and she has served on several boards during her career. Over the years, Phyllis has taught at the Southern California Institute of Architecture (SCI-Arc) where she was part of the Applied Studies Faculty for five years and has also held adjunct faculty roles at UCLA, Woodbury University and School of Visual Arts. She lectures frequently about all things related to business and market strategies. Phyllis is an avid swimmer and tennis player and loves to play jazz piano.

Table 32

Resilience Thinking– How do you manage for the 'unknown unknown'? Strategies for project managers and senior members in the 21st century.

Leader: **Kishani De Silva** – Principal, 2A+D

Kishani is a FUSE Corps Fellow (2018/19), and has completed reading for a MSc in Major Program Management at the University of Oxford, England.

She has been working in the architecture and design industries for over twenty years and started her own management consultancy, 2A+D, following her time at Foster + Partners in London, as a project manager. Her current interest lies in building resilience to absorb, adapt and transform from the unexpected, and helping Los Angeles with the housing and homelessness crisis, considered a defining issue of our time. She also leads the "50:50 x 2020" gender equity initiative for the AWA+D and sits on two Boards for social and economic justice.

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Targets of higher education goals: Reality of the Emergence of the New Generation Universities

Jasarat Valehov

Abstract *Modern anatomy of each societies development is tied to progress, well-being and Competitiveness immunity, can make contribution to this society of knowledge economy and its mastering new technologies. In this context, the establishment of higher education institutions internationally-competitive specialists capable of preparing and applying knowledge of society's Fulfilling Commitments main Priorities is one of the key. At the modern stage, primary institutions are Universities Producing quality human resources, conducting research activity and development Reflecting main algorithms of societies.*
Like everywhere else, Universities of Azerbaijan face major challenges Can whether the constantly changing requirements of their graduates in the labor market can
whether they can set the algorithm in the quality and quantity of service.
In the past 20-30 years, developed countries have been conducting reforms to transformation to Ensure New Generation Universities (3.0 concept). Philosophical essence of these reforms has been the primary societys to meet the growing requirements and assorted towards higher education on the one hand, and use the Advantages and tackle the threats of globalization on the other. This article Provides a brief insight into the historical development of New Generation Universities and analyzes main targets faced by Universities (including Azerbaijan's experience)

Keywords: *Knowledge society, 3rd generation university, Commercialization of knowledge, innovations, legal Entities of public law.*

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Introduction

The transmission of knowledge from generation to generation individual, the individual and the formation of the people and culture that provides the key distinguishing feature. Throughout history, the invention of writing, the invention of printing, such as the development of the Internet, the demand for learning achievements in connection with the implementation of a more effective way to direct service. Increase their knowledge of people, schools and other social institutions in order to preserve and share the history was written to establish the first period, reaching back to the ancient tradition.

Universities in Europe occurred in the twelfth century modern homes, many societies formed their own education systems, the experience of sharing with each other, has been the development of social structures.

Professor Hans Vissema the development path in line with the university divides into three stages: 1.0 (teaching) of the university or the "medieval university", 2.0 (teaching and research), the university or the "Humboldt type of university" and 3.0 (academic researching commericialized results) university. (1)

The first generation universities main mission - to train specialists who meet the requirements of the church and the state had an obligation to learn the ancient knowledge.

The first example of the second generation universities in Berlin, Prussia in 1810, established at the initiative of Education Minister Wilhelm von Humboldt University Humboltun. Humboldt university in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries model (education and research), the judge said. Humboldt University and the University of Bologna, the creation of a 700-year period European philosophy, science and technology development in the field has come a long way.

And finally 3.0 concept before the formation of the modern university, let's focus on what history.

University of Bologna, which is the ancestor of the modern university was founded in Italy in 1088. In the West, the reigning religious understanding in the Middle Ages, according to the educational needs of the community met at the expense of the twelfth century church schools. He was one of the essential elements of education, religion, and the dogma of the mind was, therefore, under the terms of that period, was the direct control of the church in society, knowledge sharing. In this respect, the fact that the first universities in the organization of the institutions operating within the church regarded as a natural phenomenon.

Built on the basis of a common model of the first universities alone. For example, in Bologna (1088 year) University students met at the expense of education funding. University of Paris (1200 year) the church was providing the educational expenses of students. Founded in 1096 by Oxford University church and state in the education process, both moral and financial support of the saw, and it has become an example for other respects established later.

Followed by the University of Bologna, the number of universities in Europe has increased rapidly over a few centuries. XII century, only 2 of the university was founded in the thirteenth century Europe 17, 22 of the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century, 38 and 61 in the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century, 37, in the eighteenth century, 24, in the nineteenth century began operating 58 new universities.

At this point in their scholastic doctrine of the church, and to strengthen human resources to provide education and support to universities and to draw attention to the need for practical purposes. To this end, the central church of the universities was among the first financial partners. "Universities according to the nature of the church is preserved until the French Revolution (2, 45) continues its influence in the twentieth century. Until then set up without official permission of the pope or kings, not found in any university. It is the absence of such an official permit, which was established in the cities of Lyon and Reym gain university status has been hampered by a number of educational institutions.

Education in the Middle Ages, European society was established within the structure of the church still needs met at the expense of the cathedral and the university, the concept of the formation of the impact of this educational tradition is undeniable. Therefore, in the Middle Ages "university" in the sense of the term islənmirdi still today, it is the company, the community (compactness CAMEE) and association (guild, association) as well as vocational associations representing them was a universal term. In other words, "university" is not a physical space, the community association was doing. "The fundamental structure of the university over the last thousand years, the base is the only European institution in social role and function was preserved" (3)

Therefore, the university formed out of the fact that the historical context, the review carried out, the medieval universities, the education-improvement organizations incorporated as not in the public point of view of teachers and students in the organization along with those of the professional trade associations, systems model, taking emerged attention. According to some researchers, the medieval universities in terms of the availability of such a combination of circumstances is bound formed by chance.

"University" concept medium Ages carries the essence and role as a means of organizing joint that time, the first generation universities emerged as the spokesman of the overall public interest in a certain sense.

The main purpose of the church and state universities to train professionals to meet the needs of scientific research, to achieve the development of society and the ancient knowledge of the ownership. These obligations to the university's main fueled the engine of innovation. It was this reason that many of the innovations of the era, was first established area universities. For example, "1583- William Lee of the University of Cambridge in the period of the revolutionary technology created by weaving machine" (4172)

Humboldt university in the first specimen of the second generation universities. Humboldt University and the University of Bologna, the creation of a 700-year period European philosophy, science and technology development in the field has come a long way.

Philosopher underlying knowledge structure of Humboldt University, criticized the unilateral transfer method, the students thought the revival of scientific ideas and knowledge in terms of how you came to instilling courage in them the importance of illustrating considered expedient. Humboldt University model was defined by the standard of higher education in that period and subsequent periods.

This approach is a model of Humboldt University's empirical knowledge on the one hand, the common practice is to gain experience and evidence-based education model, on the other hand, which lasted for centuries dogmas (priesthood) the disappearance of science, philosophy of the Enlightenment period that is no longer the dominant universities.

The importance of the second generation universities, experiences and observations gradually increased. However, this is not the first generation universities in research, but not at the second generation universities.

The main function of the first generation universities to keep up with the time, was the perfect preparation of philosophers and scientists. Over time, this function simply teaching the old knowledge, but also rose to a level that ensures new knowledge, research, created the conditions for further liberalization.

Research activities of the functional point of view, the importance of freedom of winning the learning function or reduce the force of impact, which leads to the synthesis of these two concepts led to the formation of the environment.

On the other hand, the second generation is the first generation universities and the universities of turning off him was a complete change in the right to say no. The second generation of education of the public mission of universities as an example of the evaluation, the higher education opportunities available to people of every class and won a status that will affect the whole of society with the help of university graduates into power.

The rise of the welfare society in the middle of the twentieth century, the role of universities as entities kept. On the other hand, the second-generation college students and teacher skills in the context of learning has become almost an equal element.

The university takes into account the existence of transformations reviewing the transition periods between them, the third generation of universities that emphasized a different transition phase. This model is based on historical materialism and universities offered Vissema's historical and social context has changed, evolved and how it would go in the future modules:

As seen in the picture, the 3rd generation of the university should be seen in the new economic context, as well as universities in the development of this type of factors that shape trends can be classified as follows:

1. To gain mass higher education;

2. Globalization;
3. The expansion of the range of interdisciplinary studies;
4. Knowledge deepening the widespread use of research as a model;
5. The increase in expenses;
6. The margin of out University sectors participate in the exchange of knowledge;
7. Innovation in the context of the expansion of individuality;
8. The increase in demand for professional management.

The university began to take shape in the second half of the twentieth century knowledge society should have a new and different functions. Thus, the knowledge society and knowledge that everything can be understood stage will benefit more people. This ring is the most important transformation universities. In particular, the expectations are greater than the 3rd generation universities.

Knowledge-based economy, universities - education, research and knowledge have a circle of commercialization activities in accordance with its mission. The process of the formation of the 3rd generation of universities in the United States said. In the United States, adopted in 1980 after the university technology commercialization Bey Doul law dealing with the thousands of companies was established. The formation of the leading industries in the United States today, more than 80% in most of the innovations are invented in universities. It is the logical conclusion of the process of evolution in the history of US universities, not only in the US but all over the world, global trends in higher education played a role in shaping the ground. The table presented in separate some parts of the process are described:

Table 1. Global trends in higher education

Topics	**Trends**
The globalization of higher education	Increasing the mobility of teachers and students Universities abroad are opening their camps In order to attract highly qualified personnel in the country alone, but is also considered outward Increasing the role of the English language in education
The creation of non-traditional educational institutions	Corporate universities, research centers, which specialize in a narrow focus, established online universities
Strengthening financial diversification and competition	The state's share of funding cuts and a reduction in profitability Competition for aggressive fiscal tightening in fundraising campaigns
An increased focus on interdisciplinary topics	The fall and rise of interdisciplinary work and cooperation departments

Increased cooperation between universities and foreign partners	Economic areas, the role of cooperation with the business community Convergence of university graduates more
"Academic direction "and change the meaning of the concept of students	"Digital "online education for more students to increase or change Traditional higher education pyramid (Bachelor - Master - PhD), which offers a variety of programs to diffuse the transition to the academic In addition to investments in education and training and increasing demand Student admission criteria change and the provision of more
Higher education management professionalizing	Teacher, administrator and partnerships pay according to the results of operations Teaching staff from various categories (research, teaching, practice and general skilled) Strategy, planning, involvement of professional managers to support key processes

The framework for the establishment of a new generation of the above-mentioned universities and prospective progress of the line will provide the basis for the historical evolution.

Looking at the transformation of the universities in the framework of innovative development that goal by targeting the creation of a new ecosystem is needed. The changes in the management philosophy of the universities in this stage (publ establishment of legal entities) innovative development of these institutions, and thus a crucial role in economic growth should pave the way. Thus, socio-economic functions of universities, change is inevitable. Only educational and scientific functions, rather than ensuring that economic growth is gaining new functionality at the university. It also could create the 3rd generation of the ecosystem of the university. In the words of Professor K. Imanov, "transformed into a knowledge economy, universities and corporate entities," University 3.

The 3rd generation University of of the reality described as follows: "The evolution of the serious social and economic problem for the 3.0 Universities. So this kind of modernization of today's society and knowledge economy should play a leading role in the transformation. Another important factor is the intellectual property of the modern "knowledge society" when the variable is associated with the role. " (510)

"Compatibility with the universities 3rd generation concept "Interesting results of the survey concluded. BSU, UNEC, Mingachevir State University, Azerbaijan

Technical University and the results of the survey conducted among teaching staff offer. As seen from the diagrams, "you're trying to 3.0 concept in line with the university?" The answer to the question was about the same as in the capital, higher education teaching staff. However, the "university-industry cooperation" diagram above-mentioned issue (being the successful commercialization of research at universities in question) respond differently to the previous. The problem is that teachers working in universities and university staff about 3.0 to almost are not aware of the nature of university research commercialization and 3rd generation is not. Mingachevir State University teaching staff involved in the survey as a whole, meaning that 3.0 did not mention what the universities. But the good thing is that the staff involved in the survey, 4, and unanimously approved the creation of technology parks in the note that universities should create economic resources.

The world's leading universities, which is famous for the slogan "work on the capture, create jobs," the idea in recent years, a number of universities (UNEC, ADNSU, BMU) the fundamental philosophy of the idea from the start. This approach is the creation of a new generation of universities and backbone link will stimulate the commercialization of knowledge. However, in the tradition of classical university in the country, universities are still poorly developed in accordance with the commercialization. For example, according to the assessment of Global Index university studies in Azerbaijan (2017), 70th place. (6).

The traditional (classical) a new generation of university college status successful transfer does not happen in many cases. "Social changes, the role of universities in the" famous sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, a report said, "does not change the status of universities and exhausted in the past, according to yesterday's value and effectiveness of protected monuments in the world" (7)

This situation is the most self-enclosed and isolated from society, a threat to universities.

Which is considered the epicenter of economic growth and innovation in the knowledge society, universities and all sectors of society is especially important to establish a strong relationship with the closer and closer. The new information space, which is one of the founders Bill Gates said, "The best way to fight the opponent information (here, information is not knowledge, knowledge is information that should be mentioned in the thesis) is to work with. Data collection, organization and use of the quality of what causes you to be won or lost. " (8, 199).Combined with the knowledge of the university community, publicizing and explore a ways to recycle. Long-term responsibility to the community in accordance with the needs of society benefit from the power accumulated in the way of businesses over time these powers are doomed to lose.

Fertile ground for the emergence of the 3rd generation of universities to public universities in the formation of a pro-active role in the process of the transformation of legal entities. It is the creation of a new generation of research universities, as well as Universities traditional driving away from the By providing a more flexible management of will allow you to apply the formula.

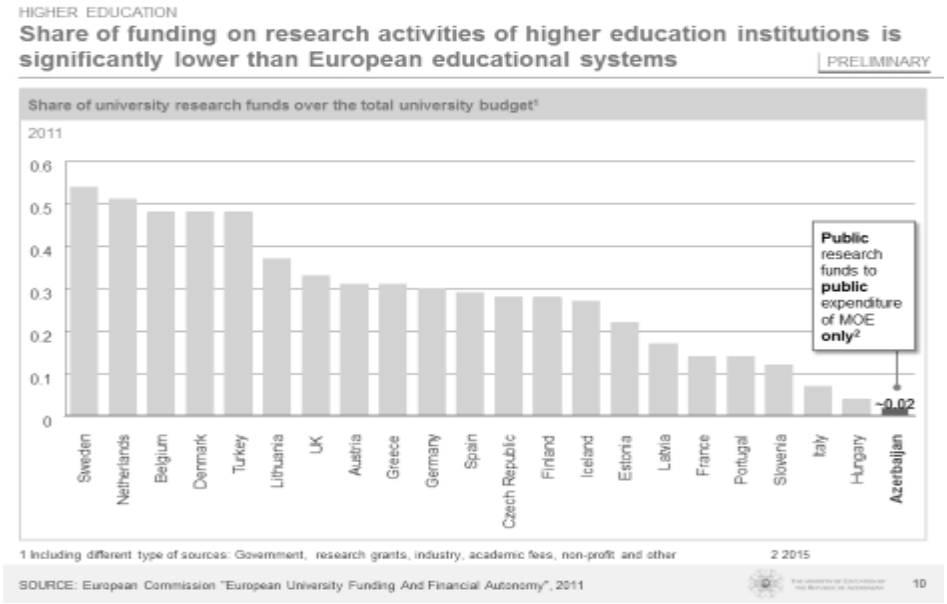
The university community, as other institutions formed in line with the ever changing and so interconnected with society. In other words, society has itself changed internal energy source. Each of its constituent bodies, social institutions and universities, one of them small. They are caused by the effects of the social changes and how it should be able to handle.

In addition to the ownership structures of the economy, which is the foundation stone of liberal social institutions in terms of economic returns in this new phase, not only for themselves, but also to assess in terms of social position. In addition to the discretionary income of the institute of social responsibility, social welfare, protection of the fundamental commitment. In this respect, the strength of economic growth as a third function of the university's researchers noted that, during the period of the knowledge society and the individual, but also to understand the society in this field are not sufficient to improve the social benefit. So, at the end of the twentieth century, universities of technology and innovation in the context of the sharing economy,

Once again, note that in terms of historical and social position of the people of the traditional university society training and activities for the well-educated elite institution that promotes the development of the society. The traditional role of the university in the transition from industrial society to knowledge society and to support the emergence of creative economy has added to the task. This is primarily due to the new role of universities in innovation entrepreneurship. When looking at the experience of how resources are allocated to scientific research? The question is relevant. As shown in the table presented below, the ratio is very low compared with other European countries:

Picture 1.

Note: *SOURCE: European Commission "European University Funding And Financial Autonomy", 2011*



This ratio also shows the location as well as other statistics. Thus, the knowledge-based economy in the area is around 8% of GDP. Another be in the first half of 2017, the start of the 34 operating in Kazakhstan, the number 166, the 2226 is Turkey. (9). This event has great potential for the country to cover a wide range of universities.

When a new focus on the role of developing countries in global competition, university, regional, social, economic and cultural development, the effect is of greater importance.

Considering the basic principles mentioned in the introductory part of the study, 8, in support of the elements of the modern university to further increase the impact of SOCIUM can list as follows:

1. be open to public activity. Knowledge of the social benefit of society, the university wants to increase further with the community to establish bilateral and direct connection is essential.

2. University education services by allocating substantial human and infrastructural resources to sort the wider masses, they must find ways to benefit.

In particular, the social needs of the space in which it operates, which can analyze the different social strata and groups of society, able to penetrate the university's educational activities in addition to domestic partners (Stakeholder), which is the student, teacher and parents' social problems, it is important to establish a closer link.

Globalization and technological change is a feature of knowledge society centuries ago as a thousand years, but the timing of the decades. In other words, changes in the life of every individual is continuous enough to fit in the process.

At this stage, based on the traditional university education and research functions will not meet the demands of a knowledge society. Education researcher Peter Drucker "The future management of society," according to the study,

"Given the rate of knowledge and facilitation of the spread, in knowledge society institutions, schools, universities should have the power to compete globally" (10, 205)

Therefore, the traditional university (2.0) graduated from the growing public interest in the case is limited by the power of the new generation universities (3.0) and social responsibility to the community in terms of implementing results, but also in terms of the creation of the new role of innovation is changing. However, results in the commercialization of universities, many researchers are cautiously. For example, who was the president of Harvard University Derek Bok 2 notes that "universities should do so with caution and foresight. Or it could undermine the basis of ad hoc commercial offers academic life. Results by not only the benefits but also by the need to think about the threats to bring (11, 140)

The effect of changing social and economic relations are increasingly universities are found. Therefore, the basic condition for the establishment of the state aid is not considered addictive new generation of universities. Whether this gener-

ation universities in the Europe and the CIS, is trying to follow the path traversed by American universities to diversify its sources.

The reality is that the global trend, university student, teacher and staff consisting of managing human resources, education and knowledge gained through research activities, as well as the town itself, and each one is capable of providing, reminiscent of the physical structure of the (campus) community sharing. As a result of this knowledge society accessibility of citizens belonging to this organization to do so without having to create a student at the university, the university and the community can share directly with academic communication. "Open campus" model linking the public nature of the "social effect" should be regarded as an important part of the university forming.

Finally, at the university to establish a closer relationship with the community is considered for this purpose.

Historically, the role of universities in society link backbone transformation of the form, as well as the status of the Society of Knowledge in terms of content protection.

Creates a new status quo prism created by universities, knowledge is accessible for people working in various fields, as well as determine the scale of the changes that occur in connection with the classification of knowledge. As a result of this process is more important than knowledge point. And activities that appeal to a wide audience ranging from the model of the modern era of college knowledge to control the production line with the start of a rising cost of society are becoming common. As a result of changes in the structure of the formation of the new university is inevitable.

-bill growing proportion of turnover accounted for full implementation of the university to assess the expected social benefits.

Knowledge society and discover important new trend formed to be understood as a transformation.

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Global Factories in the Sociological Literature

William G.S.

Abstract *The current sociological discussions on race and racism must be translated into the context of health care. There are two main types of racism: explicit and implicit. Explicit racism exists when racism is institutionalized by law, or it is socially acceptable for people to voice their racist beliefs. In the United States this racism flourished up until the Civil Rights Movement. Scholars agree that the Civil Rights Movement was a pivotal moment when racism in this country immediately switched to the implicit form. It was no longer normal to be overtly racist, and obvious segregation de jure was eradicated. Implicit racism, however, meant that whites still viewed blacks as inferior, though this was based on cultural rather than biological attributes (Bonilla-Silva 2006). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva writes "In the eyes of most whites, for instance, evidence of racial disparity in income, wealth, education, and other relevant matters becomes evidence that there is something wrong with minorities themselves" (p. 208). There was not a significant increase of blacks and whites integrating because segregation de facto still persisted. Implicit racism is also called "color-blind racism" by Bonilla-Silva. The implicit racist includes the person who explains away racial social inequality with meritocracy, the person who thinks that minorities are inferior but keeps these views to his or herself, and even the person who consciously believes that blacks and whites are completely equal, but subconsciously adheres to negative stereotypes.*

Keywords: *Globalism, sociology, literature, evidence, negative*

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Introduction

Disparate treatment is a possibility that has not been fully investigated in maternal health. It is undeniable that there are racial disparities in healthcare. The 2003 book Unequal Treatment defines "disparities in healthcare" as "racial or ethnic differences in the quality of healthcare that are not due to access-related factors or clinical needs, preferences, and appropriateness of intervention" (Smedley et al. 2003: 4).

, the Cuomo Commision took random urine samples from people staying in general-purpose shelters in New York City. Sixty-six percent tested positive for cocaine (Jencks 1994: 42). Around the same time in New Haven, nearly 70 percent of guests at emergency shelters reported substance abuse as a problem in their lives (Hartwell 2008: 80). Every person I talked to in Tent City admitted to having had problems with drugs or alcohol at one point in their lives.

Based on this strong correlation, it is tempting to assume that substance abuse leads to homelessness. Indeed, this view is often expressed in popular discourse—in a recent article about Tent City in the New Haven Independent many of the readers' comments were along these lines: "Everyone out in the woods is on drugs! I really feel like this would be the best DON'T DO DRUGS message to youth, you'll end up a beaver trapper in the Yukon" (Tuhus 2009),

Homeless advocates are quick to note that "correlation does not equal causation," and argue that the relationship between homelessness and drug use is more complex. Since crack is often easily available near places where homeless people congregate, it could be that homelessness is the cause, rather than a symptom, of crack use (Jencks 1994: 43). In this scenario, we imagine an individual who recently lost his job, got kicked out of his apartment, and decides to spend a night in a big-city shelter. Once there, he becomes acquainted with crack users who convince him to take part in their destructive habit. As the drug offers him a temporary escape from his troubles, he becomes a habitual user and eventually becomes addicted.

Which story is more convincing? Is drug addiction leading to homelessness, or is homelessness leading to drug addiction? My ethnographic study has yielded mixed results. Nearly every person I met in Tent City described him/herself as a recovering addict, and many attribute their homelessness to their previous drug addictions. Celia provides one such example: "I was addicted, you understand? But I've been clean for 4 months." She blames her addiction to heroin for her current situation. She is proud that she has been clean for so long, and hopeful that her life will improve now that she is overcoming her addiction.

Celia's heroin addiction was somewhat different from that of other Tent City residents for whom crack was the problem. Though a hit of crack only costs a few dollars, its highly addictive nature and fleeting effects mean that it can take an incredible toll on one's finances. Ty and Ma once explained to me how one crack binge could leave them broke overnight5. For this reason, among others, most

people at Tent City are trying to abstain from drugs. Ro, Ma, Wanda, Ty, and Celia have all told me with pride that they are "recovering addicts," and think that becoming permanently clean is the first step to improving their situations. In fact, it is partly for this reason that Ma avoids the shelters. At the shelters, the temptation and constant presence of drug users make it very difficult to stay clean. Ro, Ty, and Wanda all confirmed this statement.

Thus, my data could be used to support both causal relationships. On the one hand, some Tent City residents self-reported that drugs were the primary cause of their condition. Others implied that, because of the constant presence and availability of crack, homelessness actually caused their addiction.

Rather than choose a side, I would argue that both drug addiction and homelessness are symptoms of an underlying problem. Whenever I asked Tent City residents when they use crack, they responded that they tended to relapse after a stressful or depressing event. One such example was when Ty was unexpectedly admitted into a rehabilitation program, leaving Ma on her own: "I relapsed 'cuz of that. I didn't have a chance to kiss him goodbye or anything. They just took him away!" Among Tent City residents I found a common consensus that people revert to abusing substances out of weakness. Ty once explained to me why he thinks people use crack: "Cuz they are depressed." According to my subjects, people do not smoke crack out of isolation, but as a response or escape from difficult situations in their lives.

Here we see a spiraling effect: people turn to drug use as a cure for depression during difficult times. But minutes after the drug-induced high, the user finds himself in an even lower low, for which the easiest cure is another hit. Yet the more one smokes, the more depressed he becomes, and a growing part of his resources are spent procuring more drugs. In this way, drug addiction may act as the final push that causes an at-risk person to become homeless. But drug abuse in itself did not lead people to Tent City--- it was more often the combination of drug use and long-term unemployment.

Control and Prevention (CDC; O' Carroll & Potter, 1994) adopted guidelines for how newspapers and other media should report suicides, which appear to be effective at reducing the resulting suicide rate among those exposed. Eventually, a compelling body of research has emerged demonstrating that, in particular, youth who are exposed to a family member or friend's suicidal thoughts or behavior are more likely to have suicidal thoughts themselves (Abrutyn and Mueller, 2014a;Bearman & Moody, 2004;Farberow, Gallagher, Gilewski, & Thompson, 1987;Niederkrotenthaler et al., 2012;Thorlindsson & Bjarnason, 1998;Tishler & McKenry, 1981), though this research has not explained how and why suicide may be "contagious." This gap in the literature likely stems in part from a dearth of data, given the fact that suicide is a relatively rare event. ...

... In part, this is a limitation of the data: population-or aggregate-level data cannot tell us why or how suicides occur. 2 Thus, researchers increasingly have turned their attention to the effect that personal role models, like friends or family,

have on those exposed to their attitudes or behavior. Since the 1980s, an association has been found between the suicidal attitudes or behaviors of a role model and suicidal thoughts in those exposed to the person (Bearman & Moody, 2004;Thorlindsson & Bjarnason, 1998;Tishler, 1981).

Although inequalities in health care due to differences of social class or income level (which often result in differences in health insurance and thus access) exist, this is not the focus of this paper. When two patients present with the same symptoms, one white and one a minority, even equal SES, evidence suggests they will not receive the same medical treatment. Similar data shows that the disparities are not due to the fact that certain ethnic groups are more likely to suffer from particular illnesses; the inequality is due to treatment received (Smedley et al. 2003).

The manner in which health care treatment is delivered is important. A paper by Carol Ashton and associates explores the importance of a positive clinical encounter in administering quality healthcare (Ashton et al. 2003). They point to studies showing that even when controlling for access to care, socioeconomic status, and severity of disease, blacks and Latinos do not receive aggressive medical treatments (requiring a doctor's order) as often as their white counterparts. They explore three potential causes: bias on the part of the provider, preference on the part of the minority patient, and poor communication between patients and providers of different ethnicities. Although provider bias may play some role, the authors do not believe that it is enough to explain the large disparity in treatment observed. Similarly they argue that the emphasis on patient culpability--the idea that patients are less likely to be compliant if the doctor is of a different race--is erroneous. They point to studies from the

1990's which showed taped medical interactions where informed decision making did not occur. Usually the minority patient did not actively choose the lesser treatment, but a detailed conversation considering the pros and cons of all options did not take place. Thus they conclude the culprit in disparate treatment is poor communication between provider and patient. They build upon the work of Arthur Kleinman, who proposed explanatory models in sickness. Interactions are successful when doctors and patients see eye to eye about the nature of the illness: the explanatory model is an account of what is happening. Kleinman pointed out doctors treat diseases, whereas patients suffer from symptoms which affect their daily lives1. Provider and patient may not agree on what is most significant about the ailment. Communication is best when explanatory models match--when patients are of vastly different backgrounds from their providers explanatory models will likely be very different. Ashton et al write "explanatory models are products of national culture, racial and ethnic culture, gender culture, occupational and professional culture, education and knowledge, social class, religious beliefs, and personality traits" (p. 147). Any sort of social difference can contribute to the doctor and patient approaching the medical issue in a different way. This is not an insurmountable difficulty, but it means that effective communication between the pa-

tient and the provider is especially important in these situations. Ashton et al suggest that patients can be proactive by: "providing a health narrative (which reveals the patient's explanatory model), asking questions, expressing concerns, and being assertive" (p. 150). It is also indicated that clinicians must be adept communicators and that there should be workshops available to them to hone their interpersonal skills. They point to a study by Kaplan and Greenfield that demonstrated effective communication between provider and patient is directly correlated to better outcomes for some chronic illnesses2. Race and ethnicity could play a role in how comfortable a patient feels in a given interaction. A paper by S. Willems and associates corroborated these findings, focusing rather on differing socioeconomic status as an issue between provider and patient. They similarly emphasized empowering patients by educating them how to be proactive in their encounters (Willems et al. 2005). In these models, it may not be exactly correct to say that racism is directly to blame. Any sort of cultural difference could serve as a factor making effective communication more difficult.

This project aimed to shift the focus back onto the health care provider, and to further investigate what clinicians can do to prevent poor birth outcomes. The authors of Unequal Treatment concisely state "it is clear that the health care provider, rather than the patient, is the more powerful actor in clinical encounters. Providers' expectations, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors are therefore likely to be a more important target for intervention efforts" (Smedley et al. 2003: 12). While the discourse on the need to empower disadvantaged individuals to be proactive in their clinical encounters is important, physicians should similarly be working to bridge the gap and accommodate for difficulties that their patients face.

There is, obviously, quite a great deal of literature about the role of race in maternal health disparities as well as the significance of social difference in the clinical encounter. An aspect that is lacking is practitioners' thoughts regarding all of these possibilities. I chose to interview providers to gauge their thoughts on the issues, hoping this would reveal more effective interventions for the maternal health disparity. It would also uncover how providers navigate the complicated notions of race and racism in the social space of the clinical interaction.

Methodology

I interviewed providers at a high risk obstetric clinic in New England. There were a total of 16 in person interviews, conducted over the course of three weeks. Interviews typically lasted between 10 and 20 minutes, though one provider was so engaged in the topic that she spoke with me for nearly 40 minutes. Interviews were tape recorded. The questionnaire (see appendix) was created before conducting interviews, although the exact questions evolved slightly as I learned what types of things yielded more fruitful responses. Some questions were added to ask respondents to elaborate their points whereas other questions were naturally cut depending on the flow of the interview. The list of questions was circulated before and during my interviews, so some clinicians saw them before the interviews, whereas others did not. The interview had four basic sections: background infor-

mation about the individual, the clinical encounter in general, the role of race in the clinical encounter, and a discussion regarding disparities seen in maternal health. Audio-recorded interviews were manually transcribed and then analyzed.

Findings

Background:

I interviewed attending physicians, resident physicians, and nurse midwives. The breakdown of the participants is as follows: by provider type: 4 attendings, 8 residents, 4 nurse midwives; by gender: 12 women, 4 men; by race:

9 Caucasians, 4 Asians, 2 African Americans, and 1 Latino. The providers were perhaps least diverse in where they grew up: 9 came from the Northeast, 4 hailed from other parts of the United States, and 3 were not born in the United States. Race in the Clinical Encounter:

The questions regarding race in the clinical encounter yielded very similar responses by race. Almost every white provider indicated that they did not feel that race played any role in their interactions with patients. A fairly typical response to the question asking if race played a role in the encounter was epitomized by an attending. She said "You know I really don't think that it does. I think that as a provider you have to be acutely aware of different people's cultures, and how they approach, especially the female anatomy, I think we are definitely in a sensitive area being in OB/GYNs, but I don't think race itself really plays a huge factor." This was seconded by the Asian providers, although 3 of the 4 made exceptions when the patient was their same race. Many providers seemed put off that I was considering race as a potential issue at all. Their responses are perhaps evidence of the disconnect between academia and real life. Doctors are supposed to be "color-blind," and give all of their patients the same excellent treatment.

The interviewees' responses were reflective of this intention.

It became clear, however, that some types of social difference do play a role in the clinical interaction. Providers seemed much more willing to talk about culture rather than race as being a factor in their interactions. For example 8 clinicians made reference to sensitivity and respect of the cultural norms of their Muslim patients, and working around the wish to not be seen by male providers. There were also times when certain immigrant populations had norms different from those practiced in this country, which providers needed to contend with.

More than religious and national differences emerged as being significant, however. Many physicians stated that the greatest difference was "culture," and by this they meant socioeconomic status and sometimes education level. Culture could also refer to a very different world view. One Caucasian provider vacillated back and forth when I asked him if race had played a role in his interactions.

Physician: I'm sure that it has played a role in my interactions with the patients…I'm not so much so sure about race as it is culture… I don't think it's race, because there are people who are of my own race who I have had terrific difficulty connecting with, because their cultural perspective on things is so different. I've had people of different races whom I've connected with perfectly well, because

their cultural perspective is much more similar. So… my experience has not been that race has been a barrier for me with a patient…I think it's much more about, if our cultural perspectives are so different, it's more about that than it is the skin color.

Interviewer: Right, and by cultural perspective, what type of things..? Physician: I believe that, for example, everyone has the ability to be healthy, and that much of that is based on personal choices about how one lives one's life. So that goes to diet and exercise and drug use and alcohol, and contraception, and adherence to, compliance with medications and treatment regimens and etc. So there are people who feel that they have no option, no choices. That it's not their fault, and that there is nothing they can do…so when I have those sorts of interactions, I can't really change that cultural perspective.

There is much to disentangle in this interview. In my question about the role of race in the encounter, I did not use the word "barrier," however this physician assumed that I thought race might be a challenge in the interaction. I think that other providers similarly assumed by asking the race question that I was presupposing race was a problem. This might have made them answer the question in a more defensive way. Another interesting aspect about this segment is that the provider seems to not be sympathetic or understanding of why patients might have a disempowered outlook on their health. One might hope that a compassionate provider would try and encourage a patient that healthy behavior was an achievable goal. This physician instead said that this different worldview was an insurmountable challenge at times—some of his patients and he would never see eye to eye.

It was difficult for the providers to articulate what exactly contributed to these different cultural perspectives. One provider who stated that race played no sort of role in the interaction ambiguously tried to describe the type of differences that did cause issue in communication. She stated "But I don't think, I don't think race in itself is a barrier in my practice experiences. I feel that there's a lot of issues that come up that can cause difficult interactions, but most of it is, a lot of it is social or the patient's background, not necessarily the ethnic and racial background." When I pressed her for details she was unable to elaborate.

Interviewer: Right, so like social, like? Provider: social, like…

Interviewer: education and class stuff ? Provider: Mhm, yeah, that.

There was a pause, and her facial expression indicated she was done discussing this topic. Comments like these strongly suggest that providers do feel some sort of cultural tension in the interaction, however providers refused to attribute this disconnection as being in any way related to race. It is quite likely that providers who are upper or upper middle class have difficulty fully connecting with patients who are of lower SES and education level. It was interesting that there were some types of social difference that could be blamed, but race was not one of them. This may be further evidence of Bonilla-Silva's point that it is no longer socially acceptable to be racist anymore, and so people will speak in ways to indicate that they are not prejudiced. Phenomena such as class or education level will be used as

ways to discuss difference in a socially appropriate way, but may in some instances be pseudonyms for race. This is not to say that the physicians are necessarily implicit racists; more it is an interesting observation that they are unwilling to openly refer to race as a point of contention in their interactions.

There were, however, 2 white providers that did directly address race as an issue. Their discussion was hesitant, and they made it clear they did not fully understand what issues were at play, but they at least acknowledge that there was some sort of tension aside from differing socioeconomic status. One resident noted:

I've said pretty often that I can't really relate to some of the things that my patients go through. I think that being a 30 year old physician who's never been pregnant and caring for patients who are 19 and on their third pregnancy….like based on that factor alone there is a lot of difference. There is probably a racial dimension to that.

One of the nurses reflected to me kind of an interesting story once where she was already over 40 at a time that she was caring for… a pregnant black woman in labor, and that pregnant woman asked the nurse if she were pregnant, and the nurse was like "no [laughs], I'm well past my child bearing." And the patient's response was "well, I know you people have your babies late." So I was a little bit surprised by that, because clearly that sense that they can't relate to me and I can't relate to them goes both ways. And it's not just based on a race card, I mean it's also based on kind of an expectation of what's a norm in a community. And what's a norm based on socioeconomic status, and what's a norm you know in a particular city.

I found this to be a most insightful and honest observation. I appreciated this resident's willingness to address the issue of relatability. She discusses the questions of intersectionality in the complex way they deserve. Race, class, culture, and geographic location interact in unpredictable ways to create communities with vastly different lifestyles and world views. She does not attribute all of the issues of relatability to race, but at least openly admits that it does contribute in some way that she may not be able to articulate or fully understand. This physician was disheartened that this disconnect existed and desperately wanted to be able to close the divide. It was also interesting that she was able to recognize the bidirectionality of the relatability issue, understanding her patients' inability to relate to her and thus possibly the recommendations she suggested. This resident noted, however, that race did not have to be a barrier in efficacy of her interactions and that she connected with patients of all backgrounds.

I don't think that my trust level with my patients is race related. I would say I have an equivalent number of really excellent patient interactions and equivalent number of babies named after me in any race category, so for me I don't think that it's played as big a role. But I think that the kind of the socioeconomic status doeskind of play a difference in terms of relatability between us.

This provider is similarly voicing the idea suggested by other providers that race in and of itself is not a problem in an interaction. In no way is her treatment of patients influenced by their skin color. Even when there is this lack of relatability of life experiences she is able to make strong connections with patients. It is a gap that can be bridged. I found her word choice, "the kind of socioeconomic status" noteworthy because it indicated that there is something beyond income level that determines culture; there are racial undertones we may not fully comprehend but at least can admit exist. Race is a factor in the interaction, not a challenge.

The Asian providers similarly indicated that for the most part race played little role in their interactions with patients. A very important exception occurred when the patient was of the same ethnicity. The Asian providers stated that in general, their patients seemed much more at ease when they saw that their practitioner was the same race. There was an interesting difference in the way the providers discussed this phenomenon. Three of the four reflected very neutrally, however one provider indicated, that ultimately this sense of ethnic connection could actually be a hindrance in her communication with patients. She commented:

For me I think for the most part [race] is a nonissue. I think where it does come into play for me is [with] patients who are of the same background as me feel that we relate more and expect me to speak the language. My background is-- I'm a Southeast Asian-- and they expect me to speak Hindi or some of these languages and understand that, their cultural norms. Well I do understand a lot of the cultural norm, I don't speak the language. And that expectation I think can be a barrier. And also not speaking the language fully can be a barrier. So I think in that sense it becomes an issue.

This statement was quite unexpected and further complicates understanding the influence of race and culture in this setting. One would think that being of the same ethnicity would serve only to ease the flow of interactions. Yet this is an account of how social identifiers put in place by society, such as race or ethnic background, can actually force a sense of connection that is not there. This provider's patients are vastly different f rom her, but assume similarity because of the same skin color. When differences do emerge in the interaction it becomes almost more frustrating than had the patients come into the room and seen a provider of a different race. The unfulfilled expectation becomes more troubling than an initial admittance of difference.

The African American providers, on the other hand, did indicate that they had experienced encounters in which their race had been a factor in the interaction. It seemed overall that they were much more aware of their other visible social markers in general, not just race. For example, before I asked about race in the encounter one African American provider stated "I think that in my experience how patients see me and whatever they assume based on what I look like can be a barrier, anything from my sex to my age to my race to my accent or lack thereof, I think people kind of make assessments about how much they think I know, and they treat me accordingly." This provider was self conscious about her appearance; she

was aware that her physical characteristics play a significant role in how she is viewed and how willing people will be to listen to her. She assumed that how she was perceived might be a point of contention that she would have to overcome in a given interaction. Although this study's focus is on race, her references to gender and country of origin are similarly very important influence on the nature of the clinical interaction. This same provider later commented that when things were not going well with a patient she sometimes asked herself if it was her race that was causing the disconnect, as if the patient was less trusting of her because she was black. She stated

So it's hard for me to get a good sense of it when I don't click for a patient, when I feel a patient doesn't trust me for whatever reason or doesn't respect me or whatever else, I kind of click through potential reasons and race is always high on that list of reasons. But, you know, I'm sure, I hope it's not the highest but it's hard to say with the extent to which it's played a role in my patient interactions.

This provider very much indicated that she could not be sure about the role of race, because as she admitted "[race is] rarely ever explicitly addressed." This is important because she is not blaming tension on race, but rather considers it as a contributing factor. This is contrasted to the white physicians who blamed their disconnect (outside of language) solely on "cultural" or socioeconomic differences. Similarly, she expressed she felt she was adept at helping people of all cultures.

One black clinician indicated that there had been times when patients had directly inquired about her race. In the section of the interview asking about the clinical encounter the provider reflected upon one incident in which a patient had at the outset been recalcitrant. She said so yeah, there are times when people have an attitude…One African American woman who was really hostile and angry, and I was like, you know, my goodness. And she said "Are you Indian?" and I said "No, I'm black." And she goes "oh." And her demeanor changed completely after that and I thought, "where did that come from?"

This reflection was very interesting because the provider chose to acknowledge race before I had begun the part of the interview that specifically addressed it. This segment is very revealing. Especially when considered with the responses of the Asian providers, it appears that minority patients may be more comfortable when their provider is of the same race. Whether this bias is something the medical system should try and acquiesce to is debatable, however it should at least be considered as something public health needs to contend with. Examples like these make the issue of effective cultural competence training3 all the more salient. Providers must learn how to be sensitive to preconceived notions and biases which their patients have about them.

The same provider quoted above also relayed to me times in which patients had demonstrated that they held racist views, but they allowed her to treat them because she offered compassionate care. Their racism was never directly addressed towards her; in one case a patient told her after treatment that she had a strong mistrust of African Americans, but that this changed after this provider

guided her through her tragic miscarriage. In another case the provider learned that the patient was racist because she refused the care of a black male provider, even though the patient had allowed her to treat her throughout the pregnancy. This same provider also shared an example when a white patient asked if she was white. When the provider responded "no," the patient seemed surprised. After relaying this story the provider continued:

It took me a while to sort of piece it together, because, you know Florida is the Deep South. And perhaps in her experience she had not experienced a black person who was actually a health care provider, and so I think that, she was a little bit like 'oh,'…there was not synchrony in terms of her thought, well then maybe you're white.

These comments divulge just as much about the confused patient as they do about the provider. It shows that she is very sensitive to racial relations in this country, and has a keen awareness of how others view and understand her. Although the other African American clinician did not provide detailed anecdotes like these, she similarly evinced this awareness of patients having difficulty processing her race. This story is further evidence that race of the provider, or rather bias on the part of the patient, may be a barrier to effective communication with a patient. Though this provider did not indicate having particular difficulty, the system of institutionalized racism that trickles down to an individual level means that some white patients will have difficulty accepting their minority providers. After relaying this anecdote, the interviewee reflected on the role her race played in the interaction:

It's like the justice system. Supposedly rule of law prevails, but I'm sorry, you know race, because of our society, does play an important part in decisions that are made relative to one's race. And so I know that some people may have preconceived ideas, but usually I think that because I'm not into that stuff, I'm aware of it but, you know, I do what I need to do for everybody regardless. And so overtime I think that people even if they have some negative attitudes about my race, tend to sort of like me for whatever reason.

The provider emphasized that race cannot ever be ignored as a factor in daily interaction. She feels that although people may choose to try and ignore it, race is a significant identifier and carries with it important meanings and preconceptions for different individuals. Her race had been an issue that her bigoted patients had to overcome. However she voiced the same notion indicated by white providers that all patients demanded the same quality of care. She added that compassionate and excellent care was necessary even when the patient was intolerant or held biased notions. It was through this compassion towards racist individuals that she could actively fight discrimination on an individual level; by her actions, she made these people reconsider their prejudiced worldviews.

Lack of belief in Weathering Hypothesis & lack of awareness of racism in general: Providers who claimed to be culturally competent seemed unaware of the potential detrimental effects of racism on a patient's health, and in some cases even oblivious to its existence. Of the providers whom I spoke to, only three voiced any sort of acknowledgement of the idea that living in a racist society could contribute to African American women suffering worse birth outcomes. Two of these were the African American clinicians. One provider indicated she was very much a proponent of the Weathering Hypothesis. She commented:

I suspect that a lot of our sociology/public health counterpart is doing a much better job trying to identify…the nuances of these discrepancies… I'm confident that there's some degree of institutionalized racism that plays into [the disparity] in ways that we can't articulate.

Unlike the majority of her colleagues this provider encouraged more investigation of how social institutions and discrimination influenced health outcomes. She was frustrated by the persistence of the racial disparity in birth outcomes even for women of high SES, and indicated that it would indeed be the experience of racism rather than another factor such as genetics that would contribute to this. Another provider offered keen insight regarding why black women at higher income levels still experienced higher rates of poor birth outcomes. She said:

Because of the stress you know, racism does not go away as you move up the socioeconomic ladder. In fact your exposure to the majority culture is probably more increased….probably because you are faced with that majority culture on a on a daily basis you're likely to experience that stress daily in your life, [in your] work and personal life. That stress part of it is really important.

A third provider did admit that the experience of racism could potentially play a role in explaining the adverse outcomes seen in African Americans. However he offered a very compelling critique of the Weathering Hypothesis. If discrimination causes stress and thus poor health outcomes, one would expect to see similar results in other minority groups. He referred to the Latino population which experiences a tremendous amount of discrimination. This group did not have the same rates of poor birth outcomes among their higher SES individuals, and thus supporters of ideas like Weathering Hypothesis needed to find a way to explain this discrepancy.

A few times when I asked providers to explain why African American women at higher SES experienced bad birth outcomes at higher rates they often indicated that genetics must be to blame. One resident commented "well I think that some of this may go to the genetic part of it. If everything else is the same, you know you control for socioeconomic status, for smoking/non smoking for all the other factors that we kind of talk about and then the differences are still there, then you have to start thinking scientifically like what's different..." What is interesting about his viewpoint regarding the potential for a genetic explanation is the cognitive jump he makes from known risk factors to genetics. The differential social experience of blacks was not something that crossed his mind as something being

relevant; he believed the answer must be scientific. Two other providers spoke similarly; if class and health habits are explained away, the only other explanation had to be difference at the genetic level.

There was another instance in which I asked a provider about what causes bad birth outcomes in general, and he began by addressing the racial disparity. However he wanted to discredit the fact that negative outcomes were experienced differentially across races. He emphasized that causation can only be deduced by using a randomized control trial, which he felt could not be done with race.

I'm personally hesitant to say that somebody's race, just race in and of itself puts them at higher risk of something, because I believe it probably is a series of confounding factors that tend to be associated with race--lower incomes, less education, poorer nutrition, more obesity--things like this that are associated that are harder to tease out all of the possible confounders that end up influencing outcomes.

One of the chief responsibilities of institutions of higher learning is providing students with appropriate disciplinary knowledge, skills and experiences that prepare them to tackle the multitude of issues they will encounter when they enter the workforce. Attention to the role of universities in preparing youth for the workforce has intensified in recent years, especially in African countries where there has been exponential growth in university enrolment and concerns raised about the quality of education students are receiving (Gudo, Olel & Oanda 2011; Nyangau 2014; Odhiambo 2014; Waruru 2015). Community-based learning (CBL) experiences such as service-learning, practicums and internship opportunities for undergraduate students are increasingly becoming an integral component of African higher education (Dorasamy & Pillay 2010; Ferguson & Smith 2012). While there are many variations in how CBL is defined, there is broad consensus that this form of learning involves relevant and meaningful service activities in community settings to assist students in integrating their academic knowledge with practice in the field, providing them with opportunities to reflect critically on their learning and achieve academic, personal and civic learning objectives (Clayton, Bringle & Hatcher 2013).

In the end, it all came back to Madrid -that central capital city of a nation whose diversity I was able to happily experience for myself in those four short months I so eagerly lapped up. In Madrid I had also met a handsome Madrileño with whom I tried to practice my Spanish, stumbling my way through conversations with his friends and family. In early June, the time came for us to leave that great city. We would visit Rome, Athens and Jerusalem before returning to Paris and then England, our final stop before going back home. Indeed, it was to be the trip of my life, for I can not imagine such an opportunity ever coming my way again! When we left Madrid for our last time in early June, I was on the verge of really "getting" the Spanish language, so I felt heartsick to have to leave so soon. Not one other person in my group seemed to share the melancholy of "Miss Spain" as

she sat at the back of the bus looking back at the figure of her boyfriend fading away forever with the streets of Madrid.

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A prospective Micro level model of the adolescent ideation: Normative dissonance and anomie.

Jennifer Lee D.

Abstract *Durkheim's classic theory of suicide deals with central and recurrent themes of sociological inquiry, such as the nature of social order, deviance, and individual well-being. In this study, family integration and parental regulation are operationalized as independent constructs and tested in relation to anomie, suicidal suggestion, and suicidality. We find that integration and regulation can be meaning-*

findings support the primacy of integration, while accommodating the independent role of regulation. Youths who are strongly integrated into their families are less likely to succumb to anomie and suicidality, but parental regulation does not appear to have such an effect. However, family integration and parental regulation have independent effects on suicidal suggestion.

Keywords: *Normative, dissonance, and anomie, micro level*

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Introduction

Increased rates of suicide among adolescents aged 15-24 years have led to suicides becoming the third leading cause of death in the Unites States. South African statistics show an equally worrying trend as suicide constitutes 11.5% of the total deaths for the age group 11-20 years (Stark et al. 2010).

A national youth risk behaviour survey done in South Africa has re-emphasised the need for concern, as adolescent suicidal behaviour increased between 2002 and 2008 (Reddy et al. 2010). The objective was to investigate the influence of risk and protective factors (psychosocial and individual factors) on suicidal ideation. The Integrated Stress and Coping Process model was used as guiding theory for the inclusion of personal and contextual stressors and resources including coping strategies as potential risk and protective factors, in their relation-

ship to suicidal ideation. A purposive, stratified sampling technique was used to study 381 adolescents in the Northern Cape Province. The instruments used were a suicidal ideation questionnaire; a biographical questionnaire; a self-esteem scale; and a survey examining stressors and resources relevant to adolescents. Suicidal ideation was significantly higher in the South African sample than in an American sample. Avoidant coping strategies (denial, emotional venting and restraint coping), negative life events and stressful romantic relationships contributed to higher levels of suicidal ideation while self-esteem and adaptive coping (acceptance and seeking social support for instrumental reasons) reduced these levels. A lack of self-esteem, ineffective coping and particular stressors contributed significantly to the vulnerability of adolescents. Future studies should explore a wider range of dispositional factors that influence effective coping and adjustment in addressing adolescent suicidal ideation.

One of the chief responsibilities of institutions of higher learning is providing students with appropriate disciplinary knowledge, skills and experiences that prepare them to tackle the multitude of issues they will encounter when they enter the workforce. Attention to the role of universities in preparing youth for the workforce has intensified in recent years, especially in African countries where there has been exponential growth in university enrolment and concerns raised about the quality of education students are receiving (Gudo, Olel & Oanda 2011; Nyangau 2014; Odhiambo 2014; Waruru 2015). Community-based learning (CBL) experiences such as service-learning, practicums and internship opportunities for undergraduate students are increasingly becoming an integral component of African higher education (Dorasamy & Pillay 2010; Ferguson & Smith 2012). While there are many variations in how CBL is defined, there is broad consensus that this form of learning involves relevant and meaningful service activities in community settings to assist students in integrating their academic knowledge with practice in the field, providing them with opportunities to reflect critically on their learning and achieve academic, personal and civic learning objectives (Clayton, Bringle & Hatcher 2013).

Understanding suicide has been essential to the sociological enterprise since Durkheim (1897 [1951]) wrote his famous monograph, in which he argued that groups that integrated and (morally) regulated their members offered protective benefits against suicide. Though Durkheimian mechanisms remain highly relevant (cf. Pescosolido and Georgianna 1989; Thorlindsson and Bjarnason 1998; Maimon and Kuhl 2008), emphasis on *suicide suggestion*, or the effect a role model's suicidal behavior has on an observer's suicidality, has become increasingly essential to the sociological understanding of suicide (e.g., Phillips 1974; Gould 2001; Stack 2003, 2009). While Durkheim assumed that social integration protected individuals, suicide suggestion demonstrates that suicidality can spread between the very ties that Durkheim theorized as protective. This apparent contradiction is not such a problem for modern interpretations of Durkheim's theory that

focus on the structure of social ties themselves, and how the networks individuals are embedded within produce the protective benefits that Durkheim observed (Pescosolido 1990; Bearman 1991; Wray, Colen, and Pescosildo 2011). As such, it is possible to imagine social ties as capable of both social support and social harm (Pescosolido 1990; Haynie 2001; Baller and Richardson 2009). Thus, while Durkheim was right that collective solidarity was often protective, we argue that only by acknowledging the behaviors, values, and emotions embedded in network ties are we able to elaborate our understanding of how social relationships shape individuals' life chances.1 This subtle shift provides an opportunity to integrate two equally important, but often unnecesarrily separate realms in the sociology of suicide: the literature on suicide suggestion and the literature on social integration.

The existing literature on suicide suggestion demonstrates that concern over the emotions (suicidality) and behaviors (suicides) embedded in social networks is warranted. Suicides often occur in clusters, with observed spikes in suicide rates following media coverage of suicides (Stack 2003, 2005, 2009), so much so that a group of public health agencies (including the National Institute of Mental Health) issued guidelines for how the media should report on suicides so as to limit their spread (SPRC 2013). Less research has examined how suicides spread through personal role models, but what is currently known is that there is a robust association between a friend's (and sometimes family member's) suicidal behavior and that of the person exposed to it (Bjarnason 1994; Thorlindsson and Bjarnason 1998; Bearman and Moody 2004; Liu 2006; Niederkrotenthaler et al. 2012). However, these studies have often failed to address critical questions; specifically, how, when and for whom does suggestion matter?

With this study, we employ three waves of data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health to examine these questions. By using longitudinal data rich in measures of adolescent life, we investigate the role suicide suggestion plays in the suicide process, independent of other measures of social integration and psychological well-being. In doing so, we tease out further nuances related to the harmful side of social integration by shedding light on four major gaps in the literature: (1) whether suicide suggestion is associated with the development of suicidal thoughts among individuals who reported no suicidal thoughts at the time their role model attempted suicide; (2) whether the effects of suicide suggestion fade with time; (3) whether the relationship between the role model and respondent matters; and, (4) whether there are differences between boys and girls.

Go to:

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Spread of Suicide

Beginning with David Phillips' (1974) groundbreaking work, suicide suggestion studies have typically examined (1) the association between celebrity suicides and national/local suicide rates (Gould 2001; Stack 2003, 2005), (2) the association between fictionalized media suicides and national/local rates (e.g., Stack 2009), and (3) the apparent geographic and temporal clustering of suicides

(e.g., Gould, Wallenstein, and Kleinman 1990; Baller and Richardson 2002). Less extensively, studies have investigated the effect a personal role model's suicidal behavior has on the person(s) exposed to it (e.g., a friend or family member). The logic of these studies is predicated on social psychological assumptions. Significant others or persons labeled as members of a reference groups we identify with are far more likely to influence and shape behavior than non-significant others or 'outsiders' (Stryker 1980). Additionally, direct ties that are infused with socioemotional meanings can act as conduits for the spread of behavioral norms (Goffman 1959), and positive *and* negative affect, which act as motivation for reproducing these behavioral norms (Lawler 2006).

Suicide Suggestion and the Media

In a comprehensive review of the suicide suggestion literature, Stack (2005:121) estimates that about one third of suicide cases in the U.S. involve "suicidal behavior following the dissemintation of a suicidal model in the media." Models may be real celebrities like Marilyn Monroe or may be fictionalized models such as those found in popular novels or television shows. The length of exposure and the status of the role model appear to matter: on average, publicized celebrity suicides produce a 2.51% spike in aggregate rates, whereas Marilyn Monroe's suicide, a high status and highly-publicized suicide, was followed by a 13% spike in the U.S. suicide rate (Phillips 1974; Stack 2003). Though the evidence concerning the effects of fictionalized suicides such as those found occasionally in television series (Schmidtke and Hafner 1988) is less consistent (e.g., Niederkrontenthaler and Sonneck 2007), a recent meta-analysis found youths particularly at risk of suicide suggestion via fictional suicides (Stack 2009).

Spikes following celebrity suicides are confined geographically to the subpopulation exposed to the suicide—e.g., local newspapers should only affect their readership, whereas nationally televised shows should reach more people. Furthermore, research shows that the temporal effects of media exposure vary to some degree, typically ranging from two weeks to a month (Phillips 1974; Stack 1987). To date, these studies have had a difficult time determining whether suggestion plays a role above and beyond the personal circumstances of individuals: finding an association between media and suicide rates "does not necessarily identify [suggestion] as the underlying mechanism" (Gould et al. 1990:76). If suicide suggestion plays a role in the suicide process, then the question is: does it have an effect above and beyond other risk factors for suicide, such as suicidal thoughts or depression prior to exposure to media coverage of a suicide?

Suicide Suggestion via Personal Role Models

Like the media exposure suggestion studies, studies of personal role models focus on demonstrating a link between a role model's and the exposed individual's suicidal behaviors. Interestingly, the majority of studies that focus on personal role models have concentrated on adolescent suicide, perhaps because adolescent suicide has tripled since the 1950s and, thus, represents a serious public health problem (NIMH 2003). It may also be that adolescents are particularly vulnerable to

suicide suggestion. For example, adolescents are particularly socially conscious—social status and social relationships are a major focus of their daily lives. Moreover, teenagers are greatly influenced by the values and behaviors of their peers (Giordano 2003), which may increase their vulnerability to suicide epidemics. Finally, adolescents are unique in that their sense of self is still in formation and is therefore more malleable than that of adults (Crosnoe 2000; Crosnoe and Johnson 2011). As such, any insights into factors contributing to the development of suicidality are crucial to teen suicide prevention.

Generally, studies of personal role models establish that having a friend and/or family member exhibit suicidal behavior is positively associated with the exposed adolescent's own suicidality (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 1994; Evans, Hawton and Rodham 2004; Bridge, Goldstein, and Brent 2006), even after controlling for other measures of social integration and regulation and psychological distress (e.g., Bjarnason 1994; Bearman and Moody 2004). A few studies also demonstrate a positive association between exposure to suicidal behavior in role models and an individual's likelihood of attempting suicide (Bearman and Moody 2004). Although these studies add to our understanding of sociological influences on suicide, they fail to examine who is most vulnerable to suggestion and how long the effects may linger, and are often limited by the use of cross-sectional data.

Three studies employ longitudinal data and thus shed further light on suicide suggestion within the adolescent suicide process: Brent and his colleagues (1989) had the rare opportunity to collect data immediately following a suicide at a high school. While they were unable to measure students' predispositions to suicide prior to their peer's suicide, their findings suggest that suicide suggestion can spread rapidly and then gradually lose some of its effect. More recently, Niederkrotenthaler and his colleagues (2012) found that young children exposed to their parent's suicidal behavior were far more likely to develop suicidal behaviors over time than their counterparts. While their work is interesting, it is primarily epidemiological and fails to control for potentially significant confounding factors, such as social integration. Finally, Thompson and Light (2011) examined what factors are associated with adolescent nonfatal suicide attempts and found that the attempts of role models significantly increased adolescents' likelihood of attempting suicide, net of respondents' histories of suicidal thoughts and many other factors. Though these studies provide interesting insights into exposure to the suicidal behaviors of a role model, the questions of who is most vulnerable and how long that vulnerability lasts remains open, and the role suggestion plays as an aspect of social integration remains unacknowledged.

Similarity Between Individuals & Role Models

A primary limitation in the existing literature on suicide suggestion is its failure to determine whether the similarity between friends' or family members' suicidal behaviors is due to the tendency for individuals to form friendships with people they are similar to. This proverbial "birds of a feather" is often the case for teens as they select friends and peer groups based on how similar potential friends

are to themselves (Crosnoe, Frank and Mueller 2008; Joyner and Kao 2000). Research has even shown that adolescent friendships tend to be homophilous in terms of depression levels (Schaefer, Kornienko, and Fox 2011) and aggression (Cairns et al. 1988). Thus, it is possible that the effect of suicide suggestion on an adolescent's suicidal behaviors may in fact be due to unobserved preexisting similarities between friends. To address this limitation, we focus only on the development of suicidal behaviors in a sample of adolescents with no documented history of suicidality to avoid (to the extent possible with survey data) confounding the observed effect of suicide suggestion with selection into friendships. Answering this crucial question, whether suicide suggestion may contribute to the development of suicidal behaviors, is a central goal of this study.

Temporal Limits

In the process of discerning how suggestion shapes adolescent suicidality, it is useful to consider whether the effects of suggestion via personal role models linger as time passes, and for whom. Given past research, there are likely temporal limitations to how long suggestive effects last. Previous studies on the effects of media exposure have generally found that spikes in suicide rates last between two and four weeks (Phillips 1974; Stack 1987). Given that significant others tend to have a greater impact on individuals than non-significant others (Stryker 1980), it is reasonable to expect that the effects of personal role models last longer than suicides publicized in the media. As such, we take advantage of the design of the Add Health survey, to test whether the impact of a role model's suicide attempt is observable after approximately one and six years.

Family versus Friends

Generally, studies of suicide suggestion do not distinguish between the effects of family member versus friend's suicide attempt on those exposed. Given that past research has demonstrated that "the influence of friends surpasses that of parents" by mid-adolescence (Crosnoe 2000:378), and friends' influence has been strongly linked with teen delinquency, health behaviors, and pro-social behaviors (Haynie 2001; Giordano 2003; Frank et al. 2008; Mueller et al. 2011), we may expect to see differences based on an individual's relationship to the role model. It is plausible, given the extant research on adolescents and peer influence, that a friend's suicidal behavior provides a more salient model for imitating than family. As such, we analyze the two types of role models separately.

Gender Differences

The final aspect deserving greater attention focuses on potential gender differences in suggestion and suicidality. Little research has emphasized potential gender differences in how adolescents develop suicidal behaviors despite the fact that key differences exist in the suicidal behaviors between adolescent boys and girls (Baca-Garcia et al. 2008)—e.g., girls are more likely than boys to report non-fatal suicide attempts, while boys are more likely to experience fatal suicides. Another important reason to consider how suicide suggestion affects boys and girls is motivated by differences in boys' and girls' friendships. Girls tend to have fewer,

but more intimate, emotionally-laden friendships while boys tend to maintain less emotional and more diffuse networks focused around shared activities (Crosnoe 2000). What's more, girls tend to be more sensitive to other's opinions (Gilligan 1982) and are more easily influenced by peers than boys (Maccoby 2002). These findings suggest that girls may be more susceptible to role models' suicide attempts than boys.

In sum, this study shifts the sociological focus away from the protective nature of social ties toward the potential harm these ties can have on individuals. Specifically, we elaborate how exposure to suicidal behaviors shapes adolescent suicidality by identifying how, when and for whom suicide suggestion matters. Our strategy includes (1) examining the development of suicidal behaviors in a sample of youth with no suicidal behaviors at Time I; (2) determining how long the effect of suggestion lasts; and if (3) the type of role model or (4) gender makes a difference in the process. The answers to these questions will help us understand how social relationships work in daily life to both protect and sometimes put individuals at risk of suicidality, thereby pushing us closer to a robust sociological theory of suicide.

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METHODS

Data

This study employs data from Wave I, II, and III of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Add Health contains a nationally-representative sample of U.S. adolescents in grades 7–12 in 132 middle and high schools in 80 different communities. From a list of all schools containing an eleventh grade in the U.S., Add Health selected a nationally-representative sample of schools using a school-based, cluster sampling design, with the sample stratified by region, urbanicity, school type, ethnic composition, and size.

The preliminary In-School Survey collected data from all students in all Add Health high schools (n=90,118 students) in 1994–1995; from this sample, a nationally-representative sub-sample was interviewed at Wave I (n=20,745) shortly after the In-School Survey. Wave II followed in 1996 and collected information from 14,738 of the participants from Wave I. Some groups of respondents were generally not followed up at Wave II; the largest of these were Wave I 12th graders (they had generally graduated high school by Wave II). Wave III was collected in 2001–2002 and followed up the Wave I in-home respondents (including those who were excluded from Wave II) who were then approximately ages 18–23. Additional information about Add Health can be found in Harris et al. (2009).

Sample Selection

We used several sample selection filters to produce analytic samples that allow us to assess suicide suggestion in adolescence. First, we selected respondents with valid sample weights so that we could properly account for the complex sampling frame of the Add Health data. Second, our strategy involves longitudinal data analysis; as such, we restrict our sample to adolescents who participated in Waves

I and II for our analyses of Wave II outcomes and Waves I, II and III of Add Health for our analyses of our Wave III outcomes. 10,828 respondents have valid sample weights and participated in all three Waves of Add Health. Our third selection filter selects only adolescents with no suicidal thoughts or attempts at Wave I, so that the time order of events is preserved such that we can determine whether suicide suggestion plays a role above and beyond pre-existing vulnerabilities to suicidality. This restriction reduces our analytic sample to 9,309. With this sample restriction, our models are not estimating the potential for role models to maintain or dissolve an adolescent's suicidal thoughts. Instead, our models estimate whether role models' behaviors at Wave I are associated with the development of previously undocumented suicidal thoughts and attempts at later waves. This also allows us to control for potential unmeasured factors that may shape both who adolescents chose as friends and their vulnerability to suicide (following the logic of classic ANCOVA—cf. Shadish, Campbell and Cook 2002). Our final selection filter is to exclude adolescents who are missing on any key independent variables.

Though these restrictions have the potential to bias our sample, they also enable our analysis of critical aspects of suicidal behaviors in adolescence. To assess any potential bias, Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the entire Wave I sample and our Wave II and Wave III analytic samples. The only substantial difference between the Wave I Add Health sample and the analytic sample is the lower incidence of suicidal thoughts and attempts at Wave II and III due to our restricting our analyses to adolescents with no suicidal thoughts at Wave I. Our analytic samples do not vary substantially in terms of average levels of emotional distress or demographic variables from the entire

Dependent Variables

We analyze two dependent variables: *Suicidal Ideation* and *Suicide Attempts* at both Wave II and Wave III. Suicidal Ideation is based on adolescents' responses to the question: "During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously think about committing suicide?" Adolescents who answered "yes" were coded as 1 on a dichotomous outcome indicating suicidal ideation. Adolescents who reported having suicidal thoughts were then asked, "During the past 12 months, how many times did you actually attempt suicide?" Answers ranged from 0 (0 times) to 4 (6 or more times). Adolescents' responses were recoded into a dichotomous variable where 1 indicates a report of at least one suicide attempt in the past 12 months and 0 indicates no attempts. Adolescents who reported no suicidal thoughts were also coded as 0 on *Suicide Attempts*. These variables were asked at all three Waves.

Independent Variables

Our first key independent variable, one of two ways we measure suicide suggestion, is *Friend Suicide Attempt* and is based on adolescents' responses to the question: "Have any of your friends tried to kill themselves during the past 12 months?" Adolescents who responded "yes" are coded as 1 on a dichotomous variable. This question was asked at all waves. For models predicting suicidal thoughts and attempts at Wave II, we rely on adolescents' responses at Wave I to preserve

time order in the data. For models predicting Wave III dependent variables, we use adolescents' responses to this question at Wave II. Our second key independent measure of suicide suggestion is *Family Suicide Attempt*. The treatment of this variable is identical to *Friend Suicide Attempt* and is based on adolescents' responses to the question: "Have any of your family tried to kill themselves during the past 12 months?"

Our models also control for protective factors for suicide suggested by prior research. Following Durkheim's ideas about the importance of social integration as a protective factor for suicide, we measure adolescents' family integration, how close they feel to their friends, and their religious attendance. Our *Family Integration Scale* (Cronbach's Alpha = 0.77) is based on four items that measure how integrated adolescents are in their families (Bjarnason 1994). Adolescents were asked how much they feel that their parents care about them, how much people in their family understand them, whether they have fun with their family, and whether their family pays attention to them. Responses are coded so that a higher value on the scale indicates a higher feeling of family caring. Our measure of adolescents' relationship with their friends, *Friends Care,* is based on adolescents' responses to the question, "how much do you feel that your friends care about you?" Higher values on this measure indicate a higher feeling of caring friends. *Religious Attendance* measures how often adolescents attend religious services. Responses ranged from "never" to "once a week, or more". Items were coded so that a higher value on this measure indicates more frequent religious attendance.

In addition to measures of social integration, we control for several known risk factors for suicide. These include adolescents' reports of *same-sex attraction* (at Wave I) or identity as gay, lesbian or bisexual (which was only collected at Wave III). At Wave I, adolescents were asked whether they had "ever had a romantic attraction to a female?" or "…to a male?" These questions were used to identify adolescents who experience some form of same-sex attraction (Pearson, Muller, and Wilkinson 2007). At Wave III, adolescents were asked to choose a description that fits how their sexual identity, from 100% homosexual to 100% heterosexual (with not attracted to males or females as an option). Adolescents who reported being "bisexual", "mostly homosexual (gay), but somewhat attracted to people of the opposite sex", and "100% homosexual (gay)" were coded has 1. Heterosexual, asexual, and mostly heterosexual adolescents were coded as 0.

Because emotional distress may increase an adolescents' likelihood of becoming suicidal, we control for *Emotional Distress* in all models. *Emotional Distress* is measured by a nineteen item abridged Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression (CESD) scale (Cronbach's Alpha=0.87). Add Health, at both Wave I and Wave II, asked subjects how often a series of questions including, "You didn't feel like eating, your appetite was poor;" "You felt that you were just as good as other people;" "You felt depressed." Positive items were reverse coded so that a higher score on every question indicates higher emotional distress. Items were then

summed for adolescents who provided a valid answer to every question in the scale.

Finally, all models control for several demographic and personal characteristics including educational attainment measures, family structure, age, race/ethnicity, and parents' education levels. Adolescents' overall *Grade Point Average* (GPA) is a self-reported measure and has the standard range of 0 to 4 (indicating the highest possible grade). An indicator for whether or not the adolescent successfully graduated from high school and if they have attended some college is included in the models predicting suicidal behaviors at Wave III. Because of the age range of the sample, some students have not had time to complete a college degree; however, all have had an opportunity to begin their college coursework and graduate from high school.

Family structure captures whether or not they live in a two-biological parent family, a single parent family, a family that includes step-parents, or other family type at Wave I. *Race/ethnicity* is coded as five dichotomous variables: Latino/a, Black, Asian American and other race or ethnicity, with White as the reference category. *Parents' education* was taken from the parent questionnaire and the maximum value was taken in the case of two parents. If the information was missing from the parent questionnaire, the students' report of their parents' education level was used. Parents' education was coded as (0) for never went to school; (1) less than high school graduation; (2) high school diploma or equivalent; (3) some college, but did not graduate; (4) graduated from a college or university; and (5) professional training beyond a 4-year college or university.

Analytic Plan

Our goal with these analyses is to investigate whether a role model's suicide attempt is associated with the development of suicidal behaviors at Times II and III in a sample of adolescents with no suicidal behaviors at Time I. We also examine how long the increase in vulnerability lasts after exposure to a role model's suicide attempt, whether the type of role model makes a difference, and if there is variation in these processes by gender. To investigate these questions we estimate a series of nested logistic regression models with a sample of adolescents with no history of suicidal thoughts at Wave I. Because we are interested in (and anticipate based on prior literature) gender differences in what leads adolescents to contemplate suicide, we estimate all models separately by gender. As a first step, we estimate the bivariate relationships between a role model's suicide attempt (at Wave I or II) and an adolescent's likelihood of suicide ideation and attempt (at Wave II and III) to determine whether suicide suggestion is part of the process of developing suicidal behaviors over time. Next, we add a set of demographic, personal, and social characteristics to the model to determine how robust the impact of suicide suggestion is to potentially confounding risk and protective factors.2

Because the Add Health data were collected using a complex survey design (described above), we estimate all models using the SAS SurveyLogistic Procedure (An 2002) to obtain appropriate estimates and standard errors (Bell et al. 2012).

The survey logistic procedure is similar to traditional logistic regression, except for the handling of the variance. Variance is estimated using a Taylor expansion approximation that computes variances within each stratum and pools estimates together (An 2002). This method accounts for dependencies within the data due to the complex survey design. Our models also include normalized sample weights to compensate for the substantial oversampling of certain populations. These weights render our analyses more representative of the U.S. population than unweighted analyses that fail to correct for Add Health's oversampled populations.

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RESULTS

To begin our investigation of suicide suggestion, we first examine the roles of family and friends' suicide attempts in adolescent girls' and boys' suicidal behaviors at Wave II, before turning to boys' and girls' behaviors at Wave III.

Suicidal Behaviors at Wave II

Table 2 presents odds ratios from logistic regressions predicting suicide ideation and suicide attempts for both girls and boys. As a first step, we estimate the bivariate relationship between family member's suicide attempts (Wave I) and adolescents' suicidal thoughts and attempts a year later (Wave II) (Table 2; Models 1, 4, and 7). A family member's attempted suicide (Model 1) significantly increases the likelihood that adolescent girls report suicidal thoughts at Wave II; however, it is not associated with suicide attempts at Wave II (Model 4). On average, girls who report that a family member attempted suicide at Wave I are 2.99 times more likely to report suicidal thoughts at Wave II than girls who did not experience a family members' suicide attempt. This pattern is not found among boys. For boys, we find no significant relationship between family member's suicide attempt and boys' likelihood of reporting suicidal thoughts. This is our first piece of evidence for gender differences in suicide suggestion. Open in a separate window

*p < .05,

**p < .01,

***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)

All independent variables measured at Wave II unless otherwise noted.

Source: The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health

Overall, the models presented in Table 3 demonstrate a significantly different pattern from those presented in Table 2. For boys and girls, the impact of the suicide attempt of a role model, whether a family member or friend, appears to fade with time. By Wave III, we find only one significant relationship between a measure of suicide suggestion and suicidal thoughts. Table 3, Model 2, indicates a significant bivariate relationship between the experience of a friend's suicide attempt at Wave II and girls' reports of suicidal thoughts at Wave III. This finding, however, does not hold in full models though the odds ratio is in the expected direction (OR=1.25) and the p-value is very close to the threshold for statistical significance (P-value > 0.055) (Table 3, Model 3). We further investigated the change in statistical significance between the bivariate and saturated models in analyses not pre-

sented here (but available from the authors by request). Interestingly we found that an adolescent girls' emotional distress at Wave II is what explains the impact of a friends' suicide attempt on a girls' likelihood of reporting suicidal thoughts at Wave III, net of other key controls. The significant effect of a friend's suicide attempt on girls' likelihoods of suicidal thoughts remains until emotional distress is included in the model. This suggests that emotional distress may serve as an important mechanism through which suicide suggestion operates, particularly for girls.

Our models from Wave III suggest that the increased risk of suicide suggestion found over the short-run (in Table 2) fades with time. Six years later, there is little evidence that experiencing the suicide attempt of a role model, whether friend or family member, has an effect over the long-run, except perhaps for girls where it is mediated by emotional distress.

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DISCUSSION

Within the sociology of suicide, social integration and regulation are often emphasized as the primary social forces that protect or put individuals at risk of suicide. Though these Durkheimian mechanisms are undoubtedly important (Pescosolido and Georgianna 1989; Pescosolido 1990; Bearman 1991; Wray et al. 2011), myriad research on the spread of health behaviors implicates social ties as not just mechanisms for social support, but also as potential conduits for the spread of suicidal behaviors via suicide suggestion, illuminating another side to social integration. We find that the suicide attempts of role models—primarily friends—are in fact associated with the development of suicidal thoughts and in some cases attempts in adolescence. Though we find that the effects of suicide suggestion appear to fade with time, we also find that girls are more vulnerable to suicide suggestion than boys, and the type of role model—for teenagers at least—matters. Our findings suggest that social relationships, as Durkheim argued, are not always protective against suicide, at least not when significant others exhibit suicidal tendencies. This reinforces the idea that the structure – and content – of social networks conditions their role in preventing suicidality. Specifically, social ties can be conduits of not just social support, but also anti-social behaviors, like suicidality.

Our study has four primary implications for advancing the sociological understanding of suicide. Our most essential contribution to the literature on suicide suggestion via personal role models is the evidence we provide indicating that being aware of a role model's suicide attempt is associated with the development of suicidal thoughts and sometimes attempts. This relationship was robust to many measures of risk and protective factors. Experiencing the suicide attempt of a significant other may serve as a vehicle for learning a way to deal with distressing life events—by becoming suicidal (Jamison 1999). Future research should continue to probe the question of how suicide suggestion contributes to the development of suicidality. A myriad of potential mechanisms – social learning, imitation, emotion-

al contagion – all may underly the observed association between role models and those exposed to their suicidality. Qualitative research, in particular, may provide valuable insights into which of these potential mechanisms promotes the spread of suicidality via social ties. Understanding how and when suicide suggestion becomes salient to youth's suicidality would greatly help practitioners prevent suicides. Our study provides a first step towards this larger goal.

In addition to providing insights into suicide suggestion as an important mechanism in the adolescent suicide process, our study has implications for our understanding of the temporality of suicide suggestion via individual role models. Previous research on suicide rates and media exposure found the effects of suicide suggestion tended to last two to four weeks (Phillips 1974; Stack 1987). Considering the potential differences in connectedness derived from face-to-face relationships and direct contact vis-à-vis mediated sources, we hypothesized that personal role models would have a 'stronger' or longer lasting effect on those exposed to their behavior. In fact, our findings suggest that having a friend attempt suicide has a longer lasting effect than reading about a suicide in the paper or seeing a fictive suicide on television. Our study finds that the impact of the suicide attempt of a friend or family member lasts at least one year, if not more—considerably longer than the effect of exposure via the media documented in prior research. By six years, however, the effect of a friend or family member's suicide attempt appears to fade in significance. Our one finding contrary to this pattern is that among girls the suicide attempt of a friend in adolescence may continue to shape their suicidal thoughts even six years later; notably, this effect is explained by girls' emotional distress levels. Future research should examine this pattern in more detail as this finding suggests an indirect, but potentially important, long-term impact of suicide suggestion via girls' emotional distress.

That we do not find strong evidence that the suicide attempt of role models lasts over the long run is perhaps not shocking. Teens that survive the first year (or so) following a friend's suicide attempt may be or become emotionally resilient. By early adulthood a role model's suicide attempt in adolescence may no longer be essential to their daily lives, lives no longer constrained within the bounds of the high school. Research on contagion has generally focused on relatively bounded social spaces, like Native American reservations, mental wards, and high schools, finding that relatively bounded social spaces are at higher risk of geographic-temporal suicide clustering (e.g., Gould et al. 1990). Outside of relatively bounded social environments—like schools—is the suicide of a personal role model able to spread via social ties? Investigating the role of exposure to suicides inside and out of bounded social contexts would add more depth to our understanding of how suicides—and potentially other behaviors—become socially contagious.

Our third major contribution to the literature comes from our emphasis on the role of gender in the suicide suggestion process. Given that boys and girls experience peer relationships differently (Crosnoe 2000), understanding how a social mechanism, such as suicide suggestion, differs for boys and girls is crucial to arriv-

ing at a full understanding of the development of adolescent suicidality. And in fact, we find significant gender differences in the role of suicide suggestion: suggestion appears more salient to girls. Among boys, the only relevant personal role models for triggering the development of suicidal thoughts are their friends; girls' suicidal behaviors, on the other hand, are influenced by role models from both their families and friends. Second, among girls, both suicidal thoughts *and attempts* are associated with suicide suggestion. Finally, the effects of a friend or family member's suicide attempt may last longer for girls.

To be sure, though we found girls were more vulnerable, absent an observed history of suicidal thoughts, boys were not immune to suicide suggestion. It is worth noting that Thompson and Light (2011), who analyzed suicide attempts net of prior suicidal thoughts, found that boys and girls responded similarly to the attempt of a role model. This suggests that the role of gender may change at different points in the suicidal process and that a predisposition towards suicidality may be particularly important for understanding those differences.

Why would girls be more vulnerable than boys to suicide suggestion? Though a robust answer to this question is beyond the scope of this paper, we can suggest some theoretical considerations that may help explain this variation as well as offer paths for future research. Because girls develop and maintain more intense intimate relationships (Crosnoe 2000), they may be more primed to 'take the role of the other' and hence may be more vulnerable to suggestive mechanisms including developing emotional distress that sustains the original suggestive triggers. For boys, having relationships that are far less emotionally anchored may reduce or mitigate the effects of suggestion, which raises vital questions about what mechanisms are more salient in the development of suicidal thoughts for boys. Future research should continue to examine the complex role gender plays in the adolescent suicide process, as it may help determine different strategies for preventing suicides.

Our fourth and final major contribution to the sociology of suicide stems from our examination of how different role models—friends and family members—vary in terms of their importance in the suicide suggestion process. Our findings indicate that peer role models may be more meaningful to adolescent lives than family role models, for both boys and girls. Social psychology has long shown that individual's behavior is more strongly shaped by members of reference groups central to the formation and maintenance of their identity (Stryker 1980). To be sure, a teen's family consists of similar individuals who the teen may identify with, but research on adolescents clearly demonstrates that purposive efforts to differentiate oneself from one's family are accompanied by concomitant identification with peers. This is not to say that the suicidal tendencies of a family member are not distressing in adolescence. For example, we find that for adolescent girls, over the short run, the suicide attempt of a family member increases their likelihood of reporting suicidal thoughts (but not attempts) one year later. Yet taken as a whole, our findings indicate that the suicide attempts of friends are more influential in

adolescents' lives than the suicide attempts of family members, at least once adolescents' Wave I suicidality is controlled.

Limitations

Although our findings provide new and important insights into the sociology of suicide, this study is not without its limitations. First, and perhaps most obviously, we are limited to analyzing respondents' suicidal behaviors as we have no information on Add Health respondents who commit suicide. Though individuals who report suicidal thoughts or have a history of non-fatal suicide attempts are significantly more likely to commit suicide, fatal suicide attempts are most common among individuals with no history of non-fatal suicide attempts; thus, generalizing these findings to the spread of suicide deaths should be done with caution. Further, there is attrition in the Add Health sample between waves, and given the higher completion rates among male suicide attempters, it may be that more boys than girls are missing from our analyses as a result of a completed suicide. Additionally, we could hypothesize that respondents who actually commit suicide may have been the most likely to be affected by suicide suggestion. Unfortunately, we could find no information from Add Health on whether suicide, or even death, played a significant role in sample attrition. Fortunately, the rarity of suicide among adolescents reduces the risk of this biasing our findings substantially. However, this discussion highlights the significance of finding a way to compare the "lethality" of all types of role models, from the personal to the media-based. Future data collection efforts should note this key gap in the literature.

Our second limitation is related. We chose to focus on friends' and family members' suicide attempts rather than their actual suicides for practical reasons. Very few respondents reported having a friend or family member complete suicide. This fact may affect our findings on the importance of suicide suggestion. The power of suicide suggestion in the case of a suicide may be greater than the power of suicide suggestion based on a nonfatal suicide attempt. This suggests that, if anything, our findings may underrepresent the potential salience of suicide suggestion as a social mechanism in suicidal behaviors.

Finally, though we did our best to account for adolescents' vulnerability to suicide, we are limited by available data. Specifically, we analyze a sample of adolescents who reported no suicidal thoughts at Wave I in an attempt to parse out the effects of selection into friendships from the influence those friendships may have on an individual. It is possible that some adolescents with a history of suicidality, perhaps prior to Wave I, were included in our sample. Thus, while our study provides one of the best efforts to date to isolate selection from the effect of suicide suggestion, further investigation of these issues is needed before we can be confident that suggestion impacts the development of suicidality.

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CONCLUSION

Though sociologists commonly turn to Durkheimian measures of social integration and regulation when searching for sociological explanations for suicide,

our findings indicate that suicides, like other behaviors, can spread through social relationships via suicide suggestion. The suicide attempts of friends and family members may trigger the development of suicidal behaviors, suggesting that exposure to role models is a powerful way that even drastic and deviant behaviors, like suicide, become normalized. Notably, the relationship to the role model conditions the experience of suicide suggestion. Further, adolescent girls appear to be more susceptible than boys to adopting the suicidal behaviors they observe through social relationships. While this study provides important information for the evolution of the sociology of suicide, our findings also have vital policy implications for public health officials attempting to prevent adolescent suicide. Namely, policies and practitioners need to be sensitive to the importance of suicide attempts (and not simply suicides), particularly among peers and particularly for girls. Additionally, the increased risk of suicidality associated with the suicide attempts of friends may last a year or more, which is longer than previously thought.

For adolescents, ties do bind, but whether these ties integrate adolescents into society, with positive repercussions for their emotional well-being, or whether they promote feelings of alienation, depends in part on the qualities embedded in that tie. On the surface, these findings may appear to contradict Durkheim's sociology, given his focus on solidarity through collective effervescence. Yet, Durkheim argued solidarity was a product of a shared, collective conscience that spreads through ritualized, emotion-laden interaction; why should we expect, then, deviant behavior like suicide to be precluded from the types of norms that can spread across actors? Instead, we posit that for a full understanding of how social integration works in individuals' lives to shape their life chances we must consider not only the social support social ties provide, but also the emotions, behaviors, and values that inhere in those social relations.

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How inner-city students perceive the connection between the education system and the criminal system

Cara Mc C.

hoods, as well as the national racial polarization exposed in the recent presidential campaign, have called increased attention to our unresolved racial inequalities, including the disproportionate numbers of African American men who are in jail or prison. In the last months of his administration, President Obama responded to excessive federal prison sentences with a stepped up rate of commutations. President-elect Trump, in contrast, has advocated a nationwide policy of "stop-and-frisk," a police practice concentrated in low-income minority neighborhoods that invariably leads to the arrest and eventual imprisonment of men, African American men in particular, for non-violent victimless crimes. "Stop and frisk," as well as excessive sentencing for minor crimes, are not primarily federal policies, and once in office, Mr. Trump will have little influence over them. These are policies and practices of local and state governments, and reform is no less realistic or urgent now than it was before the presidential election.

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Introduction

Discussions among education policymakers have concerned a related problem: the "school-to-prison" pipeline. The term refers to the practice of stationing police officers in schools to arrest children whose offenses once would have been handled by school officials without involvement of the criminal justice system. The term also refers to harsh and racially disparate

school disciplinary policies that include "zero tolerance" and mandatory suspensions or expulsions for non-violent infractions. Students who are arrested by school police, or suspended by school officials, are more likely later to serve jail or prison time than students with similar offenses who are subject to less harsh forms of discipline.

Our new report, however, urges education policymakers and educators in states and localities to pay greater attention to the mass incarceration of young African American men, even where the incarceration does not have roots in school disciplinary practices. The evidence is overwhelming that the unjustified incarceration of African American parents, fathers especially, is an important cause of the lowered performance of their children. The numbers of children affected has grown to the point that we can reasonably infer that our criminal justice system is making a significant contribution to the racial achievement gap in both cognitive and non-cognitive skills.

We have organized this report as follows: first, we report data on the extent and growth of incarceration in the United States. Although these data are well-known to advocates of criminal justice reform, educators may not appreciate their full extent. We then describe the racial composition of prisoners, as well as data on the share of children, and of African American children in particular, who have parents in jail or prison. Next we summarize the extensive social science and epidemiological literature documenting the effect of parental incarceration on children's cognitive and non-cognitive skill development. Our summary places special emphasis on the statistical sophistication of these studies that plausibly eliminate the possibility that the shortcomings we describe in student outcomes may be attributable to socioeconomic or demographic characteristics of the children, rather than to their parents' present or previous incarceration. We then describe the plausible pathways by which parental incarceration influences children's development and is an independent cause of the gap in cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes between black and white students. Finally, we summarize contemporary criminal justice reform efforts and suggest that educators who hope to raise the achievement of disadvantaged children should make such reform of state and local policies and practices their cause as well.

However implausible reform of federal policy may seem in a Trump administration (and we hope we are wrong), many more children are harmed by the incarceration of their parents in state than in federal prisons. In 2014, over 700,000 prisoners nationwide were serving sentences of a year or longer for non-violent crimes. Over 600,000 of these were in state, not federal prisons. This reality presents an opportunity, and necessity, for educators to press for change in state and local policing and criminal justice policies that will substantially benefit their students.

One of the chief responsibilities of institutions of higher learning is providing students with appropriate disciplinary knowledge, skills and experiences that prepare them to tackle the multitude of issues they will encounter when they enter the workforce. Attention to the role of universities in preparing youth for the workforce has intensified in recent years, especially in African countries where there has been exponential growth in university enrolment and concerns raised about the quality of education students are receiving (Gudo, Olel & Oanda 2011; Nyangau 2014; Odhiambo 2014; Waruru 2015). Community-based learning (CBL) experiences such as service-learning, practicums and internship opportunities for undergraduate students are increasingly becoming an integral component of African higher education (Dorasamy & Pillay 2010; Ferguson & Smith 2012). While there are many variations in how CBL is defined, there is broad consensus that this form of learning involves relevant and meaningful service activities in community settings to assist students in integrating their academic knowledge with practice in the field, providing them with opportunities to reflect critically on their learning and achieve academic, personal and civic learning objectives (Clayton, Bringle & Hatcher 2013).

For instance, when talking about themselves in the context of their factories, female workers make statements concerning the harassment, fatigue and frustration they experience in the workplace. As workers, they see themselves as vulnerable and exploited. Female workers also make a similar set of classifications when discussing their managers and supervisors. These classifications, which Harris calls "person-in- organization schemata," consist of a variety of negative statements concerning supervisors' heavy-handed treatment of workers, and their propensity to harass them sexually. Thus, when it comes to making sense of the organization as a whole, women simply layer their self-in- organization schema and person-in-organization schema on top of one another other to generate an organizational "world-view."

Men's interpretations are based on an opposite set of self-in- organization and person-in-organization schema. Rather than complaining about conditions, men speak of their work as something that wins them daily bread for their families – making them hard workers, providers, and heroes in the context of their organizations. Similar person-in-organization schemata are used to describe management. Unlike female workers, male workers depict their supervisors as hardworking men who are under constant duress from management. Given that these schemata serve as the building blocks for men's perceptions of EPZs as organizations, it is understandable why men often view EPZs as reasonable places to work.

Performances of gender and gendered understanding of work.

Cognitive schemata do not fully explain workers' discourses on Export Processing Zones. Workers' discourses on export work are also linked to aspects of social performance. Men's contradictory statements regarding EPZ work illustrate this phenomenon. Their discourses on work uphold socially accepted conceptions of masculinity characterized by bravado, euphemisms masking the true strain of the job, as well as paternalistic viewpoints on women's economic roles. This last case appears primarily among the male spouses on EPZ workers, who often tell their wives that they should opt out of EPZ work and return home. Statements like these construct a fantasy of male breadwinning that ignore the push factors which send married women out of their homes and into global factories in the first place. As Fernandez-Kelly observes in her study of Mexican apparel workers, "women are hardly supplemental wage earners "the size and distribution of their households, as well as the weak employment status of the men in their families, are precipitant factors which explain the entrance of women into the industrial labor force" (Fernandez Kelly 1983: 57-58).

Cognitive schemata do not fully explain workers' discourses on export processing zones, however. Workers discourses on their jobs garment work are also linked to aspects of social performance. In my data, I detected gender performance in a number of places, particularly in men's contradictory statements regarding EPZ work. Men's discourses on work uphold socially accepted conceptions of masculinity are characterized by bravado, euphemisms masking the true strain of the job, and paternalistic viewpoints on women's economic roles.

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In addition to being counterfactual, men's narratives on EPZ work and are counterintuitive because women are usually presumed to be the passive and submissive participants of global production. As Pietro attests: "In the maquiladoras they hire women because men created more problems for them. We women are more easily managed. By contrast, a male worker wouldn't stand for it – he's more aggressive. Men organize them-

selves, and if they don't get what they want, they walk off the job, which really inconveniences concessions" (Pierto 1985: 31). In my study, this relationship is reversed at the most rudimentary level of discourse. Whereas men tend to qualify their ill- treatment in the EPZs, women are aggressive and articulate when discussing their grievances.

Nonetheless, in terms of gender performance, passivity serves male workers well. Claiming to be indifferent to EPZ conditions allows men to perform their masculinity and reject portrayals of EPZ workers as exploited and helpless persons. Consequently, although men's performances do not address the powerlessness or working conditions that they experience daily, they deemphasize and abstract them in an manner that protect their public presentations of self. This finding on discourse and gender performance is supported by the social- psychology literature. As Ezzamel and Willmott state, "identity must be continually reconstituted. Human beings are engaged in a process of constructing, sustaining and restoring a sense of self identity as a continuous reality in the face of circumstances that either confirm or pose a challenge to its narrative" (Ezzamel and Willmott, 1998: 364).

When it comes to understanding global production systems and transferring their knowledge, Kenyan workers rely on schema that betray the reality of gender separation which exists in society. Gender relations, gendered social networks, and gendered divisions of labor affect every step of sensemaking that workers in Kenya undertake. Men's knowledge of global garment manufacture is derived from the gendered divisions of labor in Kenyan society ranging from garment factories, where men work in information-rich departments such as Finishing Department, to gendered division of labor in their homes, which leave men able to watch TV and pursue leisure activities in the evenings, and including gendered social networks, whereby men discuss news and current events with other men.

Societal gender relations also affect how workers use and process knowledge. While data concerning local and global garment manufacture are available to both men and women, each gender concerns themselves with different spectrums of information. Male workers seek out information on global garment manufacture because it helps them evaluate the future prospects of their jobs and the garment industry more broadly. Meanwhile, female workers seek out information pertaining to local garment manufacture, because it helps them build profiles that can inform their future employment options. This relates to schemata and discourses on work as well – men are presumably more tolerant of factory conditions because they see their fate, and to an extent, their self esteem as dependent on their employment in the factories. Conversely,

women workers can be critical of factory conditions because gender roles in society allow them be more non-committal labor market participants.

Imagining Embeddedness: responses to global integration among epz workers

Although women and men conceive of EPZ work differently in terms of the global and the local, both use processes of sensemaking to acquire knowledge that is functional and supportive of their perceptions. In addition, they use it to construct vastly different conceptions of embeddedness in production chains. In my data, women's conceptions of EPZ work are inevitably very local. Even in face of information concerning EPZs in other countries, most female workers cannot fathom that working conditions are equally unfavorable. When asked whether human rights abuses were characteristic of Kenya or characteristic to the industry as a whole, female invariably respond that grave workers rights violations are unique to Kenya.

Women's complaints about the job are also local to the extent that they are deeply corporeal. When asked to describe their jobs, women talked about the ills of EPZ work as being exacted on their bodies: fatigue, weariness, shortage of time with children, etc. Narratives also centered heavily on the topic of women's bodies being violated, and relayed stories about their coworkers being sexual harassed and sometimes impregnated by their supervisors. Export manufacture is exquisitely local for women, as experienced on the body, in the womb and in the home life. Discourses on global integration only serve to heighten women's senses of localit -- a finding which is of ironic significance.

Identity at the workplace: gender matters

Thus, we see that men's and women's viewpoints on EPZ work are fundamentally questions of gender. Male EPZ workers are not vulnerable to the same forms of harassment (i.e. sexual harassment) as women, and also receive better compensation. Conversely, women are not as wage dependent as men because they are the second source of income in their households. This adds clarity to the observation of how and why male workers are consumed with discussion of competition and the global garment chain. Although women can understand the seriousness of their exploitation in EPZs without knowing details about quotas or garment manufacture in China, for example, on the other end of the spectrum, men are unable to understand their economic futures without just such analysis. Thus, for men, discussion of global production chains is of import

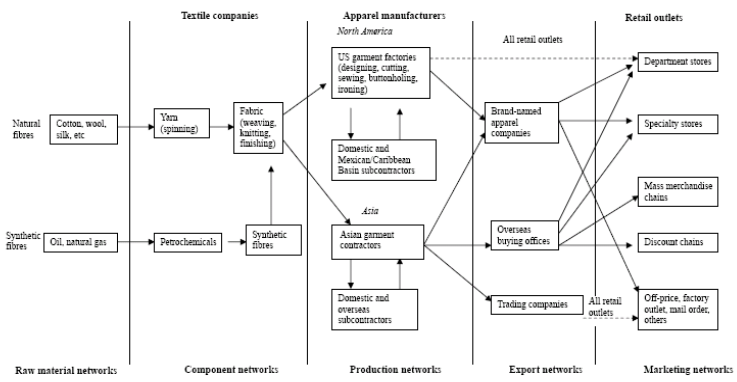
and relates on a concrete level to their concerns regarding capital flight and job insecurity, not to issues related to global exploitation of workers.

However, EPZ experiences leave a physical imprint on male workers as well. While reluctant to demean EPZ work, many of the male garment workers I spoke to readily pointed out workplace injuries they sustained to their arms and hands. Coupled with their interest in garment manufacture in China and elsewhere, men's conceptions on EPZ work blend the corporeal experiences of factory production, the intangible realties of garment manufacture beyond Kenya, and the imagined virtues of EPZ work into a narrative on masculinity, breadwinning and sustenance production in an unstable and competitive work environment. This interaction between the global, the local, and the romantic is best captured in the comments of Bernard, my interviewee who spent two years outside of the EPZs. When asked how he classifies himself as a worker, Bernard commented:

As for my occupation, I would say that I am a machinist. Finishing machines are the machines I am used to. Even when I am asleep, if you give me a machine I will make some fabric. My occupation is an EPZ worker, a machinist. If I had a form to fill, that is what I would write.

This anecdote is just one of many that characterizes the perspectives of Kenyan men vis a vis the global garment industry. Across Kenyan EPZs, global integration has solidified men's identities as workers, providers, and economic players. Conversely, global integration has heightened women workers' feelings of fatigue, exploitation and marginalization. Yet, via their embeddedness in global production networks, both male and female workers share an unwitting and undesirable solidarity with global EPZ workers, as persons whose remuneration is not commensurate with the profit derived from their gruelling labor.

Figure 1. The apparel value chain



APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

The fieldwork for this project took place in the months of June, July and August 2005. Gaining access to my respondent population was surprisingly easy because of connections I had from previous research in Kenya. With the help of these contacts, I was able to get in touch with a worker's organization called the Export Processing Zone Workers Association of Kenya. Subsequently, for the duration of my fieldwork, I was assisted by the five men who founded the organization, and to whom I am truly indebted. My colleagues at the Export Processing Zone Workers' Association were my constant companions in the field, assisting with translation, introducing me to garment workers, and sharing their insights on EPZs as veteran garment workers and renowned labor organizers. Although it likely that I will never be able to repay them fully, while in Kenya I expressed my thanks by helping them secure registration as a legal society.

My research enjoyed additional support, however. Namely. with the assistance of Peter Gibbon, a Danish scholar on global apparel trade, I established a relationship with the University of Nairobi Institute for Development Studies (IDS). At IDS, I was fortunate enough to benefit from the hospitality and guidance of several individuals, most notably Dorothy McCormick and Peter Ligulu. With the support of IDS as well as the EPZWA, my research tenure in Kenya went more smoothly than I ever would have expected and I had no difficulties accessing workers.

Over the course of my research, the bulk of my fieldwork took place at a cluster of export processing zone firms on Thika Road in Nairobi. At the Thika Road site there were three separate export processing zones –Amani EPZ, Emerald EPZ, and Sri Lankan Star EPZ – and four EPZ companies within them. Pyramid Apparels and Quality Tex are located in Emerald EPZ, and before it closed, Right Choice Garments was found in Amani EPZ. Finally, Sri Lankan Star is both the owner and sole tenant of the Sri Lankan Star EPZ. When taken together, these companies were the current or former employers of the majority of my respondents.

On average, I interviewed one or two people every day that I visited the Thika Road factories, and interviews were conducted at a small, discreet café adjoining the Amani Export Processing Zone. Research took place in accordance with the ethical standards of human subject research. All respondents were briefed on their confidentiality rights prior to their interviews, and all were asked to sign a consent form that permitted my use of a tape recorder. In addition, when participants offered me biographical data concerning their employment history, family structure and educational background, this information was recorded on anonymous numbered face sheets. Sensitive information such as the names of my

participants were not recorded anywhere besides my respondents' consent forms.

Workers were generally sensitive to the confidentiality issues related to my project, and most were attentive as we read through written consent forms. On top of that, at least half a dozen workers asked me follow-up questions ranging from whether I was working for their management to whether I would be sharing my data with the Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA). To such responses, I answered honestly and indicated that I had no connection nor allegiance to their factory owners, their managers, or to government agencies like the EPZA.

Although, all of my respondents had more than a year of experience in the EPZ, nearly half were unemployed at the point when I spoke to them. 19 of my respondents were garment workers who were currently employed, compared to 33 respondents who were recently retrenched. These statistics suggests volumes about Kenyan export processing zones and about garment supply chains in general– namely, that they are unstable, cyclical, volatile, and demanding of time.

Moreover, the fact that I was able to find so many retrenched EPZ workers milling around their old factories suggests how contingent peoples' lives are on EPZ work. Given their sustenance demands, retrenched garment workers report to the EPZs as dutifully as employment garment workers, hoping that they will be taken in as casual or day laborers.

Irrespective of their current employment status, however, all of the workers I interviewed seemed genuinely grateful for the 200 shilling honorarium they received at the conclusion of our interview. This amount, which is approximately one day's pay in the EPZs, given the value was deemed appropriate by myself and my advisor given the length of my interviews and their use of a resource that is scarce to EPZ workers -- namely, time. In addition, the fact that 200 shillings approximates one day's pay in the EPZs is misleading when it comes to its relative value. In Nairobi, newspapers cost Kshs. 35/-, bus ride without transfers is Kshs. 30/-, and a budget lunch is upwards of Kshs.

50/-. With a basket of American goods, 200/- might be equivalent to $8 USD. In terms of real value, however, it is only $2.50 USD.

Finally, in addition to the Thika Road EPZ, I also frequented several other production sites. These included Export Processing Zones located in Nairobi Industrial Area, Athi River, and the Mombasa Road Area. Furthermore, I did fieldwork and interviews in Babadogo, Korogocho, Riverside, Kitengela, Mathare North and Pipeline, slum neighborhoods which are home to many garment workers from Nairobi and Athi River. Finally, towards the end of my trip I visited Mombasa, the costal city where more than a dozen export apparel firms are situated.

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Women, poetry, politics and the development of public in the human thought

Mary A. S.

Abstract *Many diverse factors are involved in evaluating parent choice, and accumulating a common body of literature on the topic is a challenge. Several explanations and structures are brought togeth-*

demic success and the importance of learning cannot be ignored. It is also necessary to evaluate why this population of middle and upper class parents might have different expectations than other lower class groups, and how increased economic support in a community changes the nature of school choice for families there. For individual families, school choice is mediated by many factors from peer groups to student motivation. Finally, it is impossible to discuss schooling in Midcoast without examining the effect of a small town and tight social network on parents' interactions with each other and the local schools. The relationship of a school and its community can be studied on many levels, and the demographics of the community are a huge influence on the interactions that take place. There is a great deal of research regarding schools that struggle because they deal with limited resources and community problems, but much less information regarding affluent communities or successful schools.

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Introduction

Previous sociological studies of suicide have focused on the general population and there has been little attention to the unique social position of adolescents. Moreover, there have not been many studies that have attempted to test the two dominant sociological paradigms for understanding suicidality in a single model, particularly as it pertains to adolescents. This study fills in both gaps by recognizing the special position adolescents

hold between two competing social worlds and by addressing the debate between Durkheim's theory of anomie and the theory of suicide suggestion on the microlevel.

The full regression model reveals that parental anomie, as experienced as normative dissonance between the adolescent and the parents, has a significant effect on adolescent suicide ideation, greater than that of suicide suggestion from friends and family members. The strong effect of parental anomie challenges theories of suicide suggestion and also theories of the effects of peer pressure on adolescents' sense of regulation. Depression appears to have a strong and independent effect on suicide ideation. This was not surprising and does not substantially influence the discussion regarding the two sociological theories of suicide.

The diminished effect of suicide suggestion in the full regression model suggests that the effects of suicide suggestion operate most significantly through an adolescent's experience of normative dissonance with his/her parents and other mediating variables. While this model does not explain the specific relationship between suicide suggestion and anomie, it does suggest that Durkheim's theory of anomie is a more useful paradigm than suicide suggestion.

However, the significant effect of suicide suggestion in both the bivariate and full logistic regression analyses supports the findings of previous research supporting the suicide suggestion paradigm. Given the strong association between suicide ideation and both anomie and suicide suggestion, it may be more helpful to view suicide suggestion as a complementary, rather than a competing paradigm to Durkheim's theory, as Skog (1991) and Bjarnason (1994) argue.

While friendships are undoubtedly important for adolescents, these findings suggest that friends with different norms and values do not exert as much normative influence on an adolescent as previously believed.

An alternative explanation is that adolescents are more resilient to normative dissonance from their peer network than from their parents because they may select their friends while they cannot escape their parents. Future studies on the mechanisms of and degree to which peer pressure operates in today's adolescent peer networks would be helpful in drawing more conclusions. Bearman and Moody (2004) examine the structure of friendships, particularly friendship intransitivity. A hybrid approach that includes Bearman and Moody's (2004) analysis of friendship structures with consideration of the friends' norms and behaviors could reveal more specific information on the mechanism through which friends exert normative influence on adolescents.

Although peer network anomie had no effect on suicide ideation, having a friend attempt suicide had a greater effect on suicide ideation for both males and females than did having a family member attempt suicide.

This seemingly contradictory finding may be explained by Cialdini's (2001) theory of social proof.

Suicide suggestion may be stronger from friends because adolescents are more likely to identify with individuals who are similar to them. One could also argue that this association is not necessarily causal. Rather than interpret the data to suggest that having a friend attempt suicide influences suicide ideation more than does having a family member attempt suicide, one could argue that people's reactions to having a friend attempt suicide differs from that of having a family member attempt suicide. After a family member attempts suicide, the family is often brought closer, providing greater support for the adolescent. This solidarity reaction may not be as strong when a friend attempts suicide. In this way, the family is better equipped to deal with a suicide attempt whereas a friendship network may not be able to react as effectively to an attempted suicide.

It is important to mention that the different effects of parental and peer network anomie on suicide ideation could be due to the construction of the anomie variables in this study.

Because of constraints from the Add Health surveys, the two anomie variables measured normative dissonance along different dimensions. While the parental anomie variable measured norms and values along the dimensions of smoking, alcohol consumption, academic aspirations, sex, and religion, the peer network anomie variable measured norms and values along the dimensions of smoking, alcohol consumption, academic aspirations, deviant behavior, family relations, and social integration. It could be argued that the parental anomie variable more accurately measured norms and values, while the peer network anomie variable measured the behaviors of the adolescent, which may or may not reflect norms and values.

A future study that constructs two comparable anomie variables would better identify the different effects of anomie from the parents and peer network. Such a model would also allow for direct comparison of norms and values between the parents and peer network, something this model is unable to do. Instead, this model measures normative dissonance as experienced separately between the adolescent and his/parents and peer network.

Although interactions between sex and anomie did not result in any significant findings in this study, the strength of the effect of anomie on suicide ideation across sexes should be further explored. The insignificant findings in this study may be due to the converging socialization of males and females in today's schools. Although it has been previously observed that interpersonal relations are more important for females than males (Gilligan 1993), this generation of adolescents may share similar, less gendered social experiences in schools.

The strong effect of normative dissonance between an dolescent and his/her parents on suicide ideation reveals significant potential areas in which Durkheim's theory of suicide may be expanded.

The findings in this study make a strong case for greater consideration of social factors, including anomie, on depression. Examining the specific interactions between anomie and depression as well as anomie and suicide suggestion could expand Durkheim's original theory to be reconciled with other dominant theories as well as invigorate a dialogue across social sciences.

These findings have challenged many previous understandings of suicide, adolescent social experiences, and the intersection between psychological and social factors and their effects on suicide ideation. Given the limitations of the data and methods used, one can only speculate as to the theories that may explain these findings.

To understand the specific mechanism of the relationship revealed in these findings, further research is necessary.

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Sustainable development model of regional policy in Azerbaijan

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Abstract *Model of regional policy" is offered as well. The application of this model is substantiated in regard to activities and issues such as the preparation of state programs, the increase of weight of specialized economic branches, assessment of country's export potential, the reduction of unemployment, etc. Moreover, the key indicators of economic development such as GDP and its structure, incomes of population, territorial differences for GDP per capita as well as the region's attractiveness of investment are reviewed. The advantages of sustainable development model of regional policy are studied, based on which conclusion of the carried work is formulated.*

Keywords: *sustainable development, socioeconomic development, regional policy, gross domestic product, investment, income, production, employment, industry, agriculture*

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Introduction

In modern times, level of socio-economic development of a country has an impact on all branches of economy and also activity of population. Definitions in this area need specification while the mismatch in the related terminology should be lifted in order to provide further conduction of the researches and afford much stronger sustainability in the economy.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, sustainable development of newly independent states in economic and geographical point of view was defined significantly in connection with the extent of investment attractiveness of their regions. A flow of investment causes to rapid economic development and elevation of well-being. Meanwhile, too excessive direct investments into economy of one region leads to sharp rise of its socio-economic development compared to others. In this connection, the development of appropriate investment strategies, aimed at support of long-term economic, social and environmental policies is required.

In Azerbaijan, the deterioration of the socio-economic situation in the first years of independence as well as the inefficient use of the available potential made necessary the preparation and application of a sustainable development model of regional policy. Since this is still a topical issue, the development of the mentioned model and the relevant execution of state decisions and orders on the improvement of socioeconomic conditions would improve the satisfying of the increasing needs of population along with the complex use of natural resources and the provision of environmental safety.

The term "sustainable development" firstly was used in 1972, during the UN Conference on Environment, held in Stockholm, Sweden. Later the term was used also in the Club of Rome, when the issues of man-made impacts on natural and social systems were discussed.

The process of bringing together environmental and socio-economic questions was most famously expressed in the Brundtland Report's, i.e. the 1987 report of World Commission on Environment and Development which defined sustainable development as meeting 'the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (Our Common Future, 1987, p. 43). This is most widely accepted, creatively ambiguous definition of sustainable development to-day. Brundtland's definition and the ideas expressed in the report named 'Our Common Future' recognize the dependency of humans on the environment to meet needs and well-being in a much wider sense than merely exploiting resources: 'ecology and economy are becoming ever more interwoven – locally, regionally, nationally and globally (Our Common Future, 1987, p. 5).

According to the Report of UNDP (1994), the concept of sustainable development raises the issue of whether present life-styles are acceptable and whether there is any reason to pass them on to the next generation. Daly H. (1994) has formulated that sustainable development can be opera-

tionalized from view of the conservation of natural capital. Sustainability is more than limits on population or restraint in consumption – though these are important. It means that in our choice of goods and technologies we must be oriented to the requirements of ecosystem integrity and species diversity (Jonathan M. Harris, 2000).

Formulating the commonly accepted ideas, sustainable development aims the satisfaction of growing needs of present and future generations. The term is accepted as a universal understanding that bears political, economic, social, environmental, cultural and other contexts as well. It is also notable that at current period, sustainable development of countries is associated with the rapid socio-economic development of their regions, since the sustainability of economic development of regions serves as a strong foundation for security of national economies. In a broad sense, sustainable development is a system that provides existing socio-economic stability and also protects the environment from negative impacts.

Like other systems, regional system has a property of stability. Socio-economic processes taking place in the regions and also the related external factors are very dynamic, while in the condition of discrepancy between internal and external environments, these processes can be regulated only due to the sustainability (Uskova T.B., 2009). Sustainable development at the regional level relates to the improvement of socioeconomic systems, including territories and settlements, activities of facilities of social infrastructure, advancement in living standards, as well as the preservation of environment, culture and traditions.

Availability of problems in a region's economic structure requires special approach in regard to its sustainable development. In order to prepare multipurpose programs on sustainable development, the use of means and ways such as historical and territorial approach, statistic and mathematical method, comparative approach, typological method, system analysis, mapping, zoning, forecasting and others is needed. Following the collapse of USSR, the liquidation of older management structures, typical for the enterprises of post-soviet republics, and the development of new forms and methods of management concerning local and regional development of industrial facilities should be noted as an example.

The analysis of the scientific literature shows that certain models of sustainable development were developed and offered for application. U-shape relationship between economic growth and environmental degradation was offered by G.M.Grossman and A.B.Krueger (1995). The model was called as Environmental Kuznets Curve model. This model, considering the relationship between humans and the environment, has empirical character and makes emphasis on the definitive role of human impact on the nature as a result of socioeconomic activities. The model is used by the group of scientists (Copeland B.R., Taylor M.S., 2004; Dinda S. 2004).

As we think, the main emphasis in developing of conceptions on regional policy should be laid on sustainable development model. The applied conception should cover all fields and sections of the economy and be conducted with considering market relations in order to provide progress of regions. To provide the transition to sustainable development, the conceptual directions of the development should be applied at the state level but first in relation to any region. If the transition to sustainable development is connected with the unequal distribution of natural resources by country's regions, then this problem should be solved at the regional level since the regions are seen as the key elements for the implementation of a model of sustainable development.

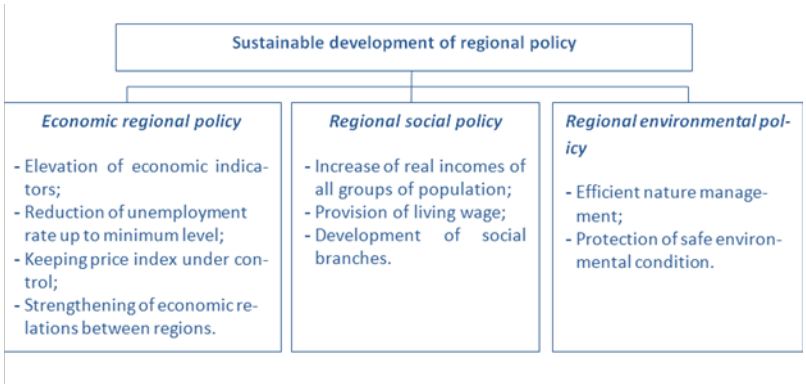


Fig. 1. Sustainable development model of regional policy

In order to ensure sustainable development in accordance with the regional policy, the development of governmental programs is needed as the first step, after which special weight of specialized economic areas must be determined, while export potential also must be assessed with taking into account incomes and features of national traditions.

The following factors affect the sustainable development model of regional policy:

- The fostering of the development of economic branches, operating on the basis of use of natural and human resources, and the improvement the structure of these industries;

- Justification of attractiveness of investment with the purpose of providing employment and improvement of the material and technical bases of economic activities;

- Development and implementation of new conception of economic policy considering the mutual cooperation between local authorities and entrepreneurs, and based on increase of the competitiveness with the purpose of increasing production.

- Application of new supplementary methods affecting industrial output.

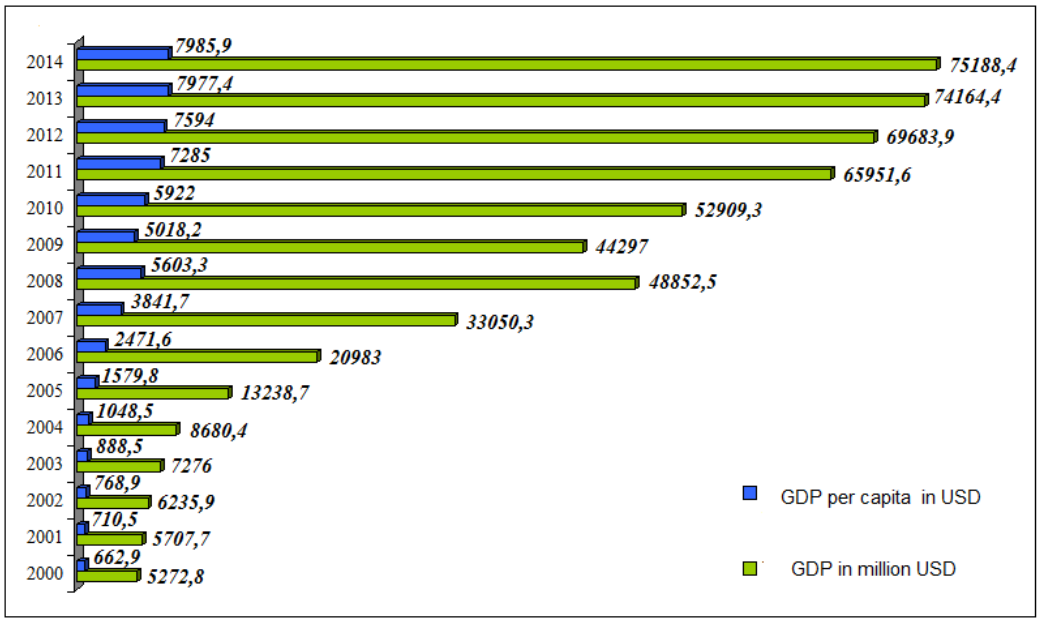
Analysis

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, new independent republics have implemented social and economic policy of market economy. The transition period of Azerbaijan was characterized by the establishment of free market relations, the transformation of national economy, the rapid development of entrepreneurship, the elimination of inflation and other economic processes. The main priorities of the conducted reforms were related to the efficient use of natural resources, the restoration of production enterprises, the attracting of interests of foreign investors to the national economy, the reduction of unemployment etc.

Different concepts on transition to market economy have been developed in post-Soviet republics. In accordance with them, the possibility of establishment of sovereignty was justified, as well as the available challenges, shortcomings and the ways of their elimination were accepted and assessed, while the reasons for the transition to a market economy and opportunities have been identified as well. (Nuriyev A.Kh., 1992, p. 20). In Azerbaijan, one of the key priorities of the socio-economic development was related to the implementation of regional policy. It was aimed at the improvement of socioeconomic conditions of the regions, as well as the reduction of poverty and the provision of employment.

As comparative analysis of the economic indicators of the Republic of Azerbaijan shows, in 2000-2014 years, GDP of the country has risen by 14,3 times, equalling 75188,4 million USD, while GDP per capita has grown by 12 times, reaching 7985,9 USD. The tendency of slowdown was observed only in 2009 when GDP was reduced by 4555,5 million USD compared to the previous year, equalling 44297 million USD (Fig. 2). This happened due to the global financial and economic crisis.

However, Azerbaijan could preserve the stability of its economic development compared to other countries. According to the joint "Doing Business 2010" report of World Bank and International Finance Corporation, Azerbaijan successfully maintained the pace of its economic development, whereas in accordance with the "Global competitiveness" Report Azerbaijan holds 51st place among 133 world countries, as well as 1st place among CIS countries.



Source: Statistic indicators of Azerbaijan-2015, p. 382.

Fig. 2. Change of Azerbaijan's GDP and its per capita indicator

The growth of GDP per capita as the key indicator of economic development of a region along with the growth of average monthly income reflects the real pace of its economic progress. In general, sustainability of socioeconomic development of a region considerably depends on such factors as self-sufficiency, unrestricted financing opportunities and economic independency.

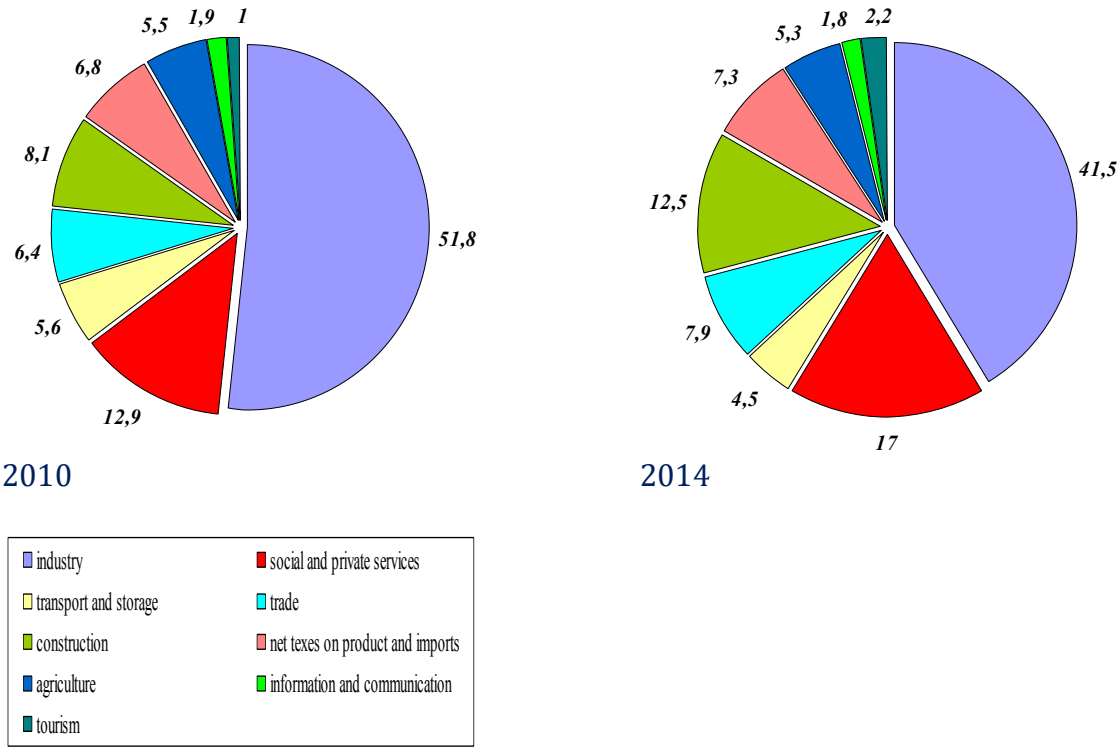
The analysis of growth of GDP per capita in 2014 by country's regions shows that this indicator is higher (between $2501-7500) in Azerbaijan and Nakhchivan economic regions. The observed higher figure by Baku ($7501 per capita) is explained with the concentration of most large industrial enterprises in its territory (Fig. 3). The last mentioned factor is responsible for the large migration of the population from country's regions to the capital city since most of profitable jobs is available here. The lowest indicators are observed in Yukhari Garabagh and Kalbajar-Lachin economic regions because they are currently under occupation of Armenian military forces.

Note: the map is compiled based on: Statistic indicators of Azerbaijan. 2015 (Yearbook of State Statistical Committee of Republic of Azerbaijan).

Fig. 3. GDP per capita in Azerbaijan in 2014.

The development of all regions of the country was supported by the government due to the implementation of the State Program on socio-economic development (2004-2008, 2009-2013, 2014-2018 years) with the exclusion of Kalbajar-Lachin and partially Yukhari Garabagh economic regions. The process is underway within the framework of the third program. Among the administrative regions of the occupied Garabagh area, the program concerns only certain unoccupied parts of the territory of Aghdam and Fuzuli regions as well as Tartar region. GDP per capita is almost the same ($1001-2500) by most of Azerbaijan' regions, as reflected in the Fig. 3. Like Kalbajar-Lachin and Yukhari Garabagh, such administrative regions as Balakan, Gakh, Shamakhy, Zardab, Gazakh, Aghstafa, Masalli, Yardimli and Lerik are lagging behind (lesser than $1000).

Sustainability of territorial and industrial complex (TIC) is measured mostly with considering stability of development of industrial areas. The countries with higher weight of the secondary sector in their GDP are listed mainly as "the developed" ones. In Azerbaijan, the share of secondary sector between 2010 and 2014 was declined, reaching 41,5% (Fig. 4). Mining industry (mainly oil and gas extraction) shares 83,4% of the total industrial product. The processing industries are represented by facilities of oil products, chemical enterprises, construction materials, food etc., and contributes 11,5% of the total industrial product. The share of production of electricity, gas and vapour equals 4,6%, and the share of water supply makes up 0,5%. (Azerbaijan in figures. 2015. pp. 61-62).



Source: Azerbaijan in figures. 2015..
Fig. 4. Structure of GDP by 2010 and 2014 years

One of the most important issues in a market economy is to ensure economic security of the country. The optimal solution of this problem depends directly on the industry. Economic security of a country requires the availability of more competitive manufacturing and the access to domestic and foreign markets (Aliyev A., Shakaraliyev A., Dadashov I. 2003, p. 230). This is so because the secondary sector is a stronger factor in the economic development and considerably affects the solution of socioeconomic issues. The development of industry paves the way for the rational use of natural and also human resources. However, from spatial view, industry entails rapid development of a region where it is available only, while other regions may lag behind. Absheron economic region shares much higher industrial production than others. Its contribution equals 93.7%, out of which 92.4% falls to the share of Baku city.

Table 1
Main socioeconomic indicators of the regions in 2014

	Territory area, sq.km	Industrial product, million US dollar	Agricultural product, million US dollar	Income of population, million US dollar

Absheron	5,87	22530,1	92,4	18404,4
Ganja-Gazakh	12,30	258,2	663,8	2635,4
Sheki-Zagatala	8,84	68,4	337,4	1052,9
Lankaran	6,07	55,7	432,7	1471,5
Guba-Khachmaz	6,96	60,9	453,5	1068,7
Aran	21,15	752,2	1290,4	4042
Daghlig Shirvan	6,13	14,6	163	557,4
Nakhchivan	5,50	277,6	180,1	1392,9
Yukhari Garabagh	7,33	18,7	162,6	249,3
Kalbajar-Lachin	6,42	0,065	39,8	-
Azerbaijan	86,57	24036,47	3815,7	30874,5

Source: Regions of Azerbaijan. 2015, pp. 40-45.

Sustainable development of regions is defined by activity of their manufacturing industries. Thus, sustainable development of manufacturing means the ability of prevention of possible negative effects that may lead to the reduction of produced commodities. Meantime, the mentioned definition includes the increase of range of products in a short period (Gutman G.V., Miroyedov A.A., Fedin J.V. 2001). This can be interpreted as the regulation of economic relations in the branches of manufacturing.

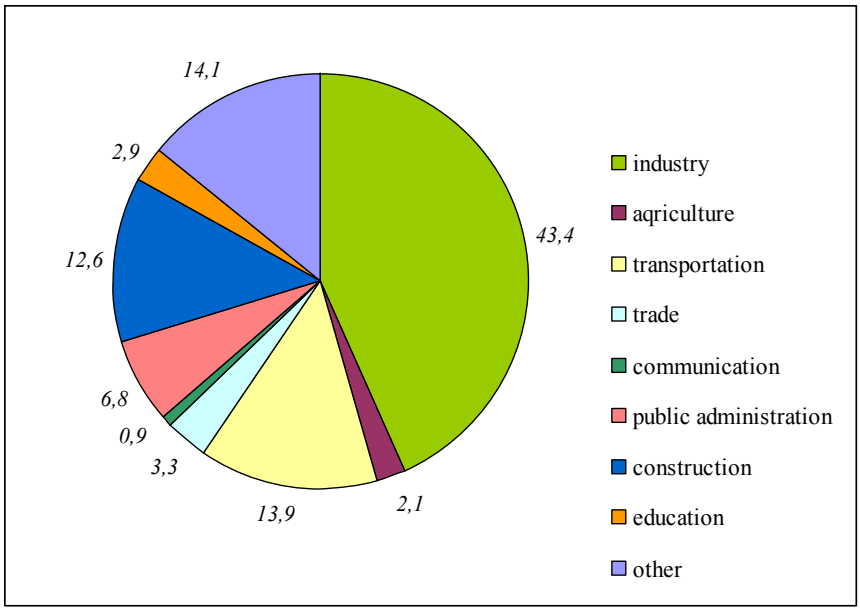
The satisfying of growing demands for food products is closely related to the development of agriculture. The ensuring food security at country and regional scales is an issue of national security importance. Over the past 10 years, agricultural production increased by 1.5 times, reaching $3,815.7 million or 13.7% of the total production. However, the trend of decline in the share of agriculture was observed. In 2014, the share of agriculture in GDP made up 5.3%, whereas the figure equaled 5.5% in 2010.

Analysis of the structure of GDP shows that from 2010 to 2014, such areas and activities as public and private services, net taxes on product and import, construction, trade and tourism have been increased, while others like transport, storage, information and communication have faced decrease.

With considering the above, it should be noted that sustainable development content of regional policy means economically advantageous, socially oriented and environmentally rational development of the entire socio-economic system. This process makes necessary the achieving of economic stability, the increase of social relations, the expanding of production, the increase of the employment of productive forces, the improvement of welfare, and the effective nature use. In addition, sustainable economic development also means the preservation and increase of total capital of a society, as well as the promotion of investment, involved into a region. The mentioned factors are the key indicators of country's sustainable socio-economic development.

Investments into regions are related to the updating of available material-technical base along with the expansion of manufacturing areas and the development of new types of activities. This is measured by increased demand for consumer goods. Investments elevate income of population and increase employment rate. Investing activities serve as a component in the structure of GDP, also affecting economic development and available resources since macroeconomic balance and employment rate are connected with the amount of investments (Isayev S.Z. 2011, p. 14). Moreover, investments are theoretically different by categories. The most important ones among these categories is investment into a fixed capital.

In Azerbaijan, investment into the fixed capital, like in the structure of GDP, is contributed mainly by the industry. In 2014, industry accounted for 43.4% of Azerbaijan's GDP. Being the leading sector of the national economy, the industry is considered to be very promising in terms of investment attractiveness. However, the small share of the funds allocated to agriculture (2.1%) is explained with such factors as the existence of high risk in this area due to unexpected climate change and the occurrence of natural disasters, the long period of expectation of investors to gain profit. The advancements, observed in the sectors of transport and construction in recent years are connected with the volume of funds, invested in these areas. 13.9% of the fixed capital was invested into the transport, while 12.6% into the construction.



Source: Statistical indicators of Azerbaijan, 2015, p.31.

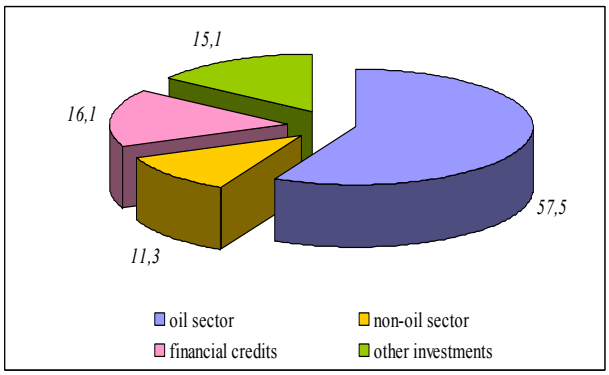
Fig. 5. The share of investment into a fixed capital by economic branches (%, in 2014)

The volume of investments into a fixed capital made up 6,8% in public administration, 3,3% in trade, 2,9% in education, 0,9% in communication, or 13,9% in total. The total share of tourism, medicine and other areas equalled 14,1%.

In order to increase opportunities in all economic sectors of a country, the shaping of favourable climate of investment as well as the attracting of domestic and foreign investments is needed. Foreign investments are preferable on the background of limited domestic opportunities. Investments of foreign sources and all related risks are protected by government.

Foreign investments are the main and very important sources of investment into the economy. This activity is typically realized in form of fiscal operations, material and technical means, or in form of intellectual property. Amount of the involved foreign capital may act as an indicator of attractiveness of investment, political stability and perspective economic development (Azizova G.A., 2012, p. 46).

At the current stage of economic development of Azerbaijan, foreign investments are directed chiefly to its oil sector, while the development of non-oil sector at the expense of incomes, gained from oil sector is necessary as well. Analysis of the structure of foreign investments shows that in 2014, oil sector prevailed over other sectors of the economy with 57.5% of all investments. 16.1% of foreign investments fell to the share of finance and credit, while 11.3% to the non-oil sector and 15.1% to other areas (Fig. 6).



Source: Statistical indicators of Azerbaijan. 2015. p. 29.

Fig. 6. Structure of foreign investments in 2014, in percent

In general, balanced and stable development of the environment and economy is needed in order to ensure sustainable development of regional socio-economic systems. This, in its turn makes necessary the applying of regulatory mechanisms by the government during the implementation of socio-economic programs. For this purpose, the following measures can be considered more appropriate:

- The creation of organizational and economic structures to ensure activities in line with the standards in the conditions of market relations;
- The identification of management mechanisms and the consecutive improvement of socio-economic policies to provide its effective application;
- The establishment of favourable investment climate for small and medium entrepreneurship;
- Economic sectors that may apply to certain restrictions in order to avoid losses;
- Application of certain restrictions to prevent possible damages in relation to economic branches.

Conclusion. Model of sustainable development of regional policy is substantiated while the advantages of this transition are indicated.

To achieve this goal, the implementation of the following measures is considered necessary:

- Identification of the potentials of the regions, as well as study of the relationship between attractiveness of investment of territories and available investment flows;
- Definition of the priority directions of natural land systems with purpose of attracting investments in less-developed regions;
- Provision of assistance for investors in defining an object of investment, as well as evaluation of perspectives of relevant action;
- Reduction of unemployment in the regions to the lowest rate through creation of new economic branches;
- Increase of incomes of population by expanding inter-regional economic relations;
- Development of facilities of social infrastructure along with manufacturing areas.

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Providers' perspectives on the role of race in material health

Peter S.K.

Abstract *Racial and ethnic disparities in health care in the United States have been well documented, with research largely focusing on describing the problem rather than identifying the best practices or proven strategies to address it. In 2006, the Disparities Solutions Center convened a one-and-a-half-day Strategy Forum composed of twenty experts from the fields of racial/ethnic disparities in health care, quality improvement, implementation research, and organizational excellence, with the goal of deciding on innovative action items and adoption strategies to address disparities. The forum used the Results Based Facilitation model, and several key recommendations emerged. The forum's participants concluded that to identify and effectively address racial/ethnic disparities in health care, health care organizations should: (1) collect race and ethnicity data on patients or enrollees in a routine and standardized fashion; (2) implement tools to measure and monitor for disparities in care; (3) develop quality improvement strategies to address disparities; (4) secure the support of leadership; (5) use incentives to address disparities; and (6) create a messaging and communication strategy for these efforts. This article also discusses these recommendations in the context of both current efforts to address racial and ethnic disparities in health care and barriers to progress.*

Keywords: *Disparities, quality improvement, minority health, race/ethnicity, access, disease management, data collection*

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Introduction

Over the last decade, highlighted by the release of the Institute of Medicine (IOM) Report *Unequal Treatment* in 2002, the issue of racial and ethnic dispari-

ties in health care in the United States has attracted significant attention (IOM 2001; Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003). *Unequal Treatment* defined disparities as "racial or ethnic differences in the quality of healthcare that are not due to access-related factors or clinical needs, preferences, and appropriateness of intervention" (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003, pp. 3–4). Even with the same insurance and socioeconomic status and when comorbidities, stage of presentation, and other confounders are controlled for, minorities often receive a lower quality of health care than do their white counterparts. The IOM's report *Crossing the Quality Chasm* made the case that equity is a component of quality, thus signaling that racial/ethnic disparities in health care are an important quality-of-care issue (Fiscella et al. 2000; IOM 2001).

The evidence of racial/ethnic disparities in health care was carefully detailed in *Unequal Treatment*, and new findings have continued to emerge. For instance, disparities have been found in the utilization of cardiac diagnostic and therapeutic procedures (such as African Americans being referred less often than whites for cardiac catheterization and bypass grafting) (Ayanian and Epstein 1991; Harris, Andrews, and Elixhauser 1997; Schulman et al. 1999; Thomas et al. 2007; Woolf et al. 2004), prescriptions of analgesia for pain control (African Americans and Latinos receiving less pain medication than whites for long-bone fractures and cancer) (Bernabei et al. 1998; Green et al. 2006; Pletcher et al. 2008), and surgical treatment of lung cancer (African Americans receiving less curative surgery than whites for non-small cell lung cancer) (Bach et al. 1999). Disparities have also been found in referrals for renal transplantation (African Americans with end-stage renal disease being referred less often than whites to the transplant list) (Ayanian et al. 1999), treatment of pneumonia and congestive heart failure (African Americans receiving less optimal care than whites when hospitalized for these conditions) (Ayanian et al. 1999), and the utilization of preventive services covered by Medicare (i.e., immunizations and mammograms) (Gornick et al. 1996). Despite the increased awareness of this issue, disparities have persisted over time in both the use of major surgical procedures among the elderly and, for example, the management of myocardial infarction (Jha et al. 2007; Vaccarino et al. 2005). Additional research has shown that racial/ethnic disparities in health care are due to differences in care provided within hospitals, as well as where minority patients receive their care (i.e., specific hospitals and providers) (Bach 2005; Bach et al. 2004; Hasnain-Wynia et al. 2007; Jha et al. 2007).

Because the root causes for racial/ethnic disparities are complex, *Unequal Treatment* grouped them into three basic areas:

Health system factors (HS) related to the complexity of the health care system and how it may be disproportionately difficult for minority patients or those with a limited proficiency in English to navigate.

Care process variables (CP) related to the health care provider, such as stereotyping, the impact of race/ethnicity on clinical decision making, and clinical uncertainty due to poor communication.

Patient-level variables (PL) resulting in patients' refusal of services, poor adherence to treatment, and delays in seeking care.

Health System Factors

Even for those people who are insured and well educated and have a high degree of health literacy, navigating the health care system can be extremely complicated and confusing (IOM 2004). Some individuals, however, may be at higher risk for receiving substandard care because of their difficulty navigating the complexities of the U.S. health care system. These persons may be those from cultures unfamiliar with the Western model of health care delivery, those with limited proficiency in English, those with low health literacy, and those who mistrust the health care system (IOM 2004; Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003). People with such characteristics may have difficulty knowing how and where to go for a referral to a specialist, how to prepare for a procedure like a colonoscopy, or how to follow up abnormal results from a test like a mammogram. Since people of color in the United States tend to be overrepresented among the preceding groups, the inherent complexity of navigating our health care system has been seen as a root cause for racial/ethnic disparities in health care (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003).

Care Process Variables

Several care process variables may contribute to racial/ethnic disparities in health care, such as the following:

Communication between Provider and Patient

Much evidence highlights the impact on health and clinical care of sociocultural factors, race, ethnicity, and limited proficiency in English (Berger 1998). Health care professionals frequently care for patient populations with different perspectives, values, beliefs, and behaviors regarding health and well-being, such as variations in the recognition of symptoms, thresholds for seeking care, comprehension of management strategies, expectations of care (including preferences for or against diagnostic and therapeutic procedures), and adherence to preventive measures and medications. In addition, patients' and providers' sociocultural differences influence communication and clinical decision making, and are pertinent to evidence linking communication between provider and patient to greater patient satisfaction, adherence, and, subsequently, better health outcomes (Eisenberg 1979; Stewart et al. 1999). Thus, when the patient's and provider's sociocultural differences are not appreciated, explored, understood, or communicated effectively in the medical encounter, the patient's dissatisfaction, poor adherence, poorer health outcomes, and racial/ethnic disparities in care may be the result (Betancourt, Carrillo, and Green 1999).

A survey of 6,722 Americans aged eighteen and older further elucidated the link between provider-patient communication and health outcomes

(Commonwealth Fund 2001). White, African American, Hispanic, and Asian Americans who had had a medical visit in the last two years were asked whether they had trouble understanding their doctor, whether they felt the doctor did not listen, and whether they had medical questions they were afraid to ask. The survey found that 19 percent of all patients experienced one or more of these problems, yet whites experienced them 16 percent of the time, compared with 23 percent of the time for African Americans, 33 percent for Hispanics, and 27 percent for Asian Americans.

In addition, provider-patient communication in the presence of a language barrier but without an interpreter is a major challenge to effective health care delivery (Erzinger 1991; Perez-Stable, Napoles-Springer, and Miramontes 1997; Seijo 1991). Research has shown that Spanish-speaking patients discharged from the emergency room are less likely than their English-speaking counterparts to understand their diagnosis, prescribed medications, special instructions, and plans for follow-up care (Crane 1997). They are less likely to be satisfied with their care or willing to return if they have a problem, more likely to report problems with their care (Carrasquillo et al. 1999), and less satisfied with the patient-provider relationship (Baker, Hayes, and Fortier 1998). Communication issues related to language barriers disproportionately affect minorities and others with limited proficiency in English and may contribute to racial/ethnic disparities in health care.

Clinical Decision Making

Theory and research on clinical decision making suggest that physicians' understanding and interpretation of information obtained from patients, as well as assumptions about the patients themselves, may contribute to racial and ethnic disparities in health care (Hooper et al. 1982; McKinlay, Potter, and Feldman 1996; van Ryn and Burke 2000). Two factors are central to this process: clinical uncertainty and stereotyping (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003). A doctor's decision-making process is nested in clinical uncertainty, and doctors make inferences about severity based partly on information they obtain from the patient. Therefore, if doctors have difficulty understanding their patients, their decisions may not be the same for patients who present with the same condition. Because different racial and ethnic groups may express their symptoms differently, doctors—the overwhelming majority of whom are white—may understand less well the symptoms of patients from minority groups. The consequence may be that white patients may be treated differently than minority patients are. In this situation, clinical decisions could differ even if the doctor had the same regard for each patient (no prejudice).

Stereotyping is the process by which people use social categories (e.g., race, gender) when acquiring, processing, and recalling information about others (Fiske 1998). The literature on social cognitive theory examines the ways in which natural tendencies to stereotype may influence clinical decision making. Stereotyping can result in different treatments if providers have assumptions

(conscious or unconscious) related to dimensions such as race, gender, and age (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003). Stereotypes also are influenced by the messages conveyed in society (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003), such as the media's portrayals of minorities as being less educated, more violent, and less likely to adhere to health care recommendations. Stereotypes can affect clinical decision making and even lead to certain groups being deemed less worthy of diagnostic or therapeutic procedures or resources (Einbinder and Schulman 2000; van Ryn and Burke 2000). Stereotypes tend to be most common in environments in which persons are stressed, multitasking, and pressured for time: the hallmarks of the clinical encounter (Macrae, Milne, and Bodenhausen 1994; Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003).

Patient-Level Factors

Trust is crucial to the therapeutic alliance between patient and health care provider. It enables open communication and is directly related to the patient's satisfaction and adherence to the physician's recommendations (Peterson 2002). Not surprisingly, patients who mistrust their health care providers are less satisfied with the care they receive (Thom and Campbell 1997), and their mistrust of the health care system and their physicians results in poor continuity of care, doctor shopping, self-medicating, and an increased demand for referrals and diagnostic tests (Safran et al. 1998).

Based on historical factors of discrimination, segregation, and medical experimentation, African Americans may be especially mistrustful of providers (Gamble 1997). Indeed, the exploitation of African Americans by the U.S. Public Health Service during the Tuskegee syphilis study left a legacy of mistrust that persists in this population (Brandt 1978; Corbie-Smith 1999). A national survey also found significant mistrust of the health care system by other minority populations. Of the 3,884 individuals surveyed, 36 percent of Hispanics and 35 percent of African Americans (compared with 15 percent of whites) felt they had been treated unfairly in the health care system in the past based on their race and ethnicity. Perhaps even more alarming is that 65 percent of African Americans and 58 percent of Hispanics (compared with 22 percent of whites) were afraid of being treated unfairly in the future based on their race/ethnicity (KFF 1999).

This mistrust may contribute to patients' wariness in accepting or following recommendations, undergoing invasive procedures, or participating in clinical research. This in turn may lead doctors either to assume that African Americans might not want certain procedures or to stop explaining a procedure to a patient because they feel that it is a lost cause and that these patients may adhere less strictly to or be less interested in aggressive treatments.

Although the relative contribution of these various factors has not been calculated, the overall framework can provide some direction and areas of focus for possible interventions. Given the many causes of disparities, it is clear that there are no simple solutions for addressing them, just as there are no simple

solutions for improving the overall quality of health care. Strategies to address disparities will likely require a multidisciplinary, multimethod, stepwise approach.

Go to:

The Strategy Forum

Most of the research on disparities describes racial/ethnic disparities in health care rather than identifying best practices or proven strategies to address them. To date, few efforts have been made to identify the critical factors for success and the key concepts of change that address disparities and can be readily transferred from one organization or environment to another.

Because of this gap and with the support of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), the Disparities Solutions Center (DSC) at Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) convened the Strategy Forum to draw up a blueprint to address racial/ethnic disparities in health care nationally. In the summer of 2006, the DSC convened this one-and-a-half-day Strategy Forum in Oakland, California, composed of twenty experts (listed in the appendix) from the fields of racial/ethnic disparities in health care, quality improvement, implementation research (the translation of research findings into clinical practice), and organizational excellence (the transformation of organizational culture to maximize performance). The goal of bringing these fields into the disparities discussion for the first time was to create a set of innovative actions and adoption strategies to resolve disparities. Insights into addressing disparities come from the fields of research on racial and ethnic disparities and on quality improvement, whereas insights into bringing about change come from research on implementation science and organizational excellence (Dijkstra et al. 2006; Grimshaw et al. 2001; Runy 2002; Ryan 2004, 2006; Spath 2004).

Participants in the Strategy Forum were asked to identify (1) activities essential to eliminating disparities, (2) proven strategies for changing providers' behavior, (3) quality improvement initiatives to reduce disparities, and (4) critical factors for success in organizational excellence that would help hospitals, health plans, and physicians' organizations address this issue effectively.

The forum was designed and facilitated using the Results Based Facilitation (RBF) model. RBF is a process that supports moving from talk to action by focusing on achieving results and developing an accountability framework for action (Pillsbury 2007). The DSC staff collected, compiled, and reviewed detailed notes from the Strategy Forum and identified key themes from the meeting. These themes were placed into six major areas: (1) collecting race and ethnicity data, (2) measuring disparities, (3) developing disparities interventions, (4) securing the support of leadership, (5) finding incentives to address disparities, and (6) creating appropriate messages and communicating efforts effectively.

We hope that our article makes the following contributions: First, it brings together the perspectives of leaders from four fields (disparities, quality im-

provement, implementation research, and organizational excellence) on how these areas can together address disparities; second, it provides a practical look at what is going on in the field of disparities; and finally, it explores issues of implementation, including the barriers that must be overcome to achieve success. We begin by presenting the Strategy Forum's principal themes and recommendations in the context of both current efforts to address racial and ethnic disparities in health care and barriers to progress.

Go to:

Principal Themes and Recommendations

Collection of Race/Ethnicity Data

The ability of hospitals, health plans, and other health care organizations to identify and address racial/ethnic disparities hinges on their collecting information about their patients' race and ethnicity. This essential step was recommended in *Unequal Treatment* (IOM 2001; Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003) and was emphasized by the Strategy Forum's participants. A significant amount of research has been conducted on how to do this effectively, including which race/ethnicity categories should be made standard, as well as the importance of collecting information about socioeconomic status (via educational level), racial/ethnic subgroups (when relevant, such as "Puerto Rican" within the Hispanic/Latino group), and primary language (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003; Swift 2002; Ver Ploeg and Perrin 2004; Williams 1996).

In the past few years, two major studies examined whether hospitals routinely collect race/ethnicity data about their patients. In 2004, of 272 hospitals surveyed (from a sample of one thousand members of the American Hospital Association), 82 percent collected data on their patients' race and ethnicity, and 67 percent collected information on their patients' primary language, but the data were not collected in a systematic or standard manner. For example, the categories of race/ethnicity and the collection methods were different (such as patients' self-reports versus clerks assigning race/ethnicity to patients based only on appearance). In addition, the data were often not shared, even among different departments within the same hospital (Hasnain-Wynia, Pierce, and Pittman 2004). In 2006, of 501 hospitals (of 1,100) that were similarly surveyed, 78.4 percent collected race information, 50 percent collected data on patient ethnicity, and 50 percent collected data on primary language (Regenstein and Sickler 2006). Again, the problem is that information about race/ethnicity was not collected using standard race/ethnicity categories or collection methods. Given these studies' limited size and response rate, it is difficult to ascertain how many hospitals collected and used race/ethnicity data, but the lack of standardization is noteworthy.

Progress has been made, however, in giving hospitals a blueprint for collecting such data, primarily through the work of the American Hospital Association's Health Resource and Educational Trust. The association's "Toolkit for Collecting Race, Ethnicity, and Primary Language from Patients" is the premier re-

source in the field (Hasnain-Wynia and Pierce 2005), and the hope is that more hospitals will use this device to collect race/ethnicity data. At the state level, Massachusetts mandated the collection of race/ethnicity data in hospitals as part of the disparities reduction legislation in the nationally recognized health care reform initiative that the state passed in 2007 (MGL 2007).

America's Health Insurance Plans (AHIP) conducted two surveys of member and nonmember health plans—one in 2003 and the other in 2006—to determine whether information about its members' race/ethnicity was being collected. In 2003, from the 137 health plans (of 300) surveyed, 53.5 percent of enrollees were in plans that collected race/ethnicity data, and in 2006, from the 156 health plans (of 260) surveyed, 67 percent of enrollees were in plans that collected such data (AHIP 2006). This information was obtained from the enrollees, usually during their enrollment in the plan or in special programs. Some plans collected this information indirectly through geocoding and surname analysis of their members (Fiscella and Fremont 2006). Although some progress appears to have been made, collecting race/ethnicity data has yet to become an industry standard, thus limiting health plans' ability to identify and address racial/ethnic disparities in care.

Pioneering efforts in this area have included those of the National Health Plan Collaborative, funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (AHRQ). The eleven participating health plans (which represent nearly half of all commercially insured Americans and the millions served by Medicare and Medicaid) have worked on several issues related to disparities, including developing effective strategies to collect racial, ethnic, and language data (RWJF 2007).

Despite the progress in data collection by both health plans and hospitals, obstacles remain. Leaders often express concerns about the legality of collecting this information (Betancourt and Weissman 2006; Hassett 2005), doubts about whether it is permitted under the Health Insurance Portability and Affordability Act, concerns that patients or members will feel offended if asked, and worries about the costs of retooling information systems to achieve this goal. Uncertainty also remains about which race and ethnicity categories should be used; how, where, and when these data should be collected; what other information should be collected to avoid confounding findings about racial/ethnic disparities; what information technology infrastructure adaptations are needed; what kinds of staff training and quality assurance are necessary; and what (and to whom) information should be routinely reported. Even though the cost and information systems adjustments have not yet been resolved, research has demonstrated that there are no legal barriers to collecting race/ethnicity data, that patients will generally provide the information when asked, and that there are models for what categories to collect and when and how to collect this information (Baker et al. 2005; Hasnain-Wynia and Baker 2006; Perot and Youdelman 2001; Regenstein and Sickler 2006; Rosenbaum et al. 2006). Several organiza-

tions have also developed staff training and models of quality assurance to enhance the accuracy of the process (Betancourt and Weissman 2006; MGH CRED 2003).

The participants in the Strategy Forum agreed on the need for the national adoption of standard race/ethnicity categories, guidance for health care organizations on data acquisition strategies (including how to develop information technology to collect race/ethnicity data), training materials for staff who collect this information, and techniques for communicating to patients/members the reasons for and importance of collecting this information. Ultimately, all efforts to reduce disparities rest on the effective collection of race/ethnicity data from patients and would help advance toward that goal.

Disparities Measures and Reporting Mechanisms

Collecting race and ethnicity data is not enough to address disparities. Once such data are collected, health care organizations must analyze and review them internally to monitor for disparities. It would be helpful if hospitals, for example, could recognize any racial/ethnic differences in the care their patients were receiving for their condition. Information about race and ethnicity also could be used in outpatient settings, for example, to determine whether patients were receiving the recommended testing and appropriate medications. Disparities may be amenable to quality improvement interventions. For example, if an organization found disparities in diabetics' glucose control, it could try to determine the root causes (e.g., language barriers or limited health literacy) and use them to improve the quality of initiatives to reduce disparities.

In the 2006 survey of 501 hospitals described earlier, fewer than one in five of the hospitals that collected race/ethnicity information routinely used it to assess disparities in quality of care, health care outcomes, or patient satisfaction. Building on this theme, the Strategy Forum's participants concluded that health plans and hospitals needed guidance on monitoring for disparities in quality by race/ethnicity. This guidance would include what a routine reporting mechanism should require, including which specific quality measures should be stratified by race/ethnicity, how frequently the measures should be analyzed, and to whom the report should go (such as to a hospital or health plan quality leaders).

The capacity of health plans and hospitals to routinely measure, monitor, and report disparities has been explored several times. Perhaps the earliest examination was the “Minority Health Report Card Project,” a collaborative effort of researchers and initially eight, but later thirteen, health plans (commercial, Medicaid, and Medicare) (Nerenz et al. 2002). The demonstration created report cards, and the researchers recommended that race/ethnicity data be collected and used to measure the quality (i.e., Healthcare Effectiveness Data and Information Set [HEDIS], Consumer Assessment of Health Plans Survey [CAHPS]) of health plans and also for external reporting and internal quality purposes. De-

spite this work, however, health plans do not routinely report quality measures by race/ethnicity.

Similarly, researchers recently investigated public hospitals to find out whether current public reporting efforts could include data by race or ethnicity (Siegel, Regenstein, and Jones 2007). In particular, they looked at the feasibility of using the Hospital Quality Alliance framework to collect quality measures by race/ethnicity and to gauge these measures' usefulness for supporting hospitals' quality improvement activities designed to reduce disparities (Siegel, Regenstein, and Jones 2007). The Hospital Quality Alliance is a public-private collaboration (American Hospital Association, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, the Federation of American Hospitals, and the Association of American Medical Colleges) to improve the quality of care provided by the nation's hospitals by measuring and publicly reporting the management of patients with congestive heart failure, acute myocardial infarction, and community-acquired pneumonia (Hospital Quality Alliance 2008). A useful lesson from this work was that race/ethnicity data could be used to measure quality in order to identify those disparities that could be addressed by quality improvement initiatives.

An example of other evidence of hospital activity in this area is Massachusetts General Hospital's work beginning in 2005 on its Disparities Dashboard, which would mirror the quarterly quality dashboard distributed to hospital leaders but would focus exclusively on disparities (http://www.mghdisparities.org/sub_quality.html). Using the principles of dashboard reporting—three to five pages of easily processed information used to convey key points to the leadership—the disparities dashboard tried to better identify the hospital's patient population by race/ethnicity and by the National Hospital Quality Measures (congestive heart failure, acute myocardial infarction, and pneumonia), HEDIS outpatient measures, and patient satisfaction measures, also by race/ethnicity. The Disparities Dashboard was first released in 2006 and has served as the foundation for disparities-specific quality improvement initiatives in diabetes and colorectal cancer screening.

If disparities are to be identified and addressed, efforts like these must become routine for both hospitals and health plans. Appropriate measures must be selected; quality information technology must be developed to generate reports easily and seamlessly; and sensitive information must be communicated carefully. The Strategy Forum's participants concluded that hospitals and health plans can benefit from guidance on developing standard monitoring systems to identify racial/ethnic disparities in quality of care.

Disparities Interventions

Investigators and health care organizations are now beginning to design and implement interventions to reduce or eliminate disparities in care, particularly using quality improvement approaches. The Strategy Forum's participants underscored the need for readily available interventions to address disparities once they are identified. The participants also discussed whether standard qual-

ity improvement tools could "lift all boats" and thereby reduce disparities, or whether interventions should concentrate on specific disparities. The consensus was that general quality improvement may help but probably is not sufficient to eliminate disparities. The participants felt that interventions should be tailored to address the particular root causes leading to disparities, whether these were at the health system (HS), care process (CP), or patient level (PL) (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003), rather than using a "one size fits all" approach that assumed that the same barriers applied to all patients. The number of studies examining the impact on disparities of general quality improvement efforts that are *not* specifically tailored to reduce disparities has been growing (Beach et al. 2006; Casalino 2005; Jha et al. 2007; Miranda et al. 2003). These efforts range from information systems–based interventions to improve the quality of diabetes treatment (Sequist et al. 2006) to performance feedback and education for clinicians to improve dialysis care (Sehgal 2003). Most of these studies show mixed results, with fewer disparities for some quality indicators but the same or more for others.

If a general improvement in quality is not enough to eliminate racial/ethnic disparities, how should we intervene? Many studies show that disease-specific interventions tailored to a particular racial/ethnic group can improve process and outcomes measures of quality (La Roche, Koinis-Mitchell, and Gualdron 2006; Whittemore 2007). Quality improvement efforts could target specific disparities by several means (whose root causes we will identify using the abbreviations HS, CP, or PL).

They could

Target an intervention to specific minorities who have been receiving lower-quality care, in either heavily minority communities or integrated communities (using race/ethnicity data to identify patients eligible for the intervention). For example, the Multi-Family Asthma Group Treatment (MAGT) program was designed to enhance asthma management by acknowledging, discussing, and incorporating families' cultural beliefs about asthma; targeted inner-city African American and Latino families; and significantly reduced asthma-related emergency visits one year after the intervention (La Roche, Koinis-Mitchell, and Gualdron 2006). This program addressed both the care process variables through improved communication and the patient-level variables through education and trust building (CP, PL). Another example is Aetna's diabetes disease-management pilot program directed toward its African American and Latino policyholders (HS, CP). The preliminary results show that this intervention improved the rates of LDL cholesterol screening and glycosolated hemoglobin testing for pilot enrollees (National Health Plan Collaborative 2006).

Target all patients but use approaches (materials, personnel, etc.) that are culturally and linguistically appropriate to minority patients and thus accommodate their needs or address/navigate those barriers that apply specifically to them. For example, a quality improvement intervention for the care of de-

pressed patients used local experts to educate clinicians, mental health nurses, and psychotherapists, who then made modest changes in their usual practices to improve their care of minorities (Miranda et al. 2003). These changes were involving experts in minority mental health, translating patients' informational materials into Spanish, and including minority providers in videotapes for patients and information about cultural beliefs and barriers to mental health in training materials for providers. The results in a randomized trial showed better rates of appropriate care for all patients and better clinical outcomes for ethnic minorities (HS, CP).

Improve providers' ability to care for minority patients. Interventions by providers at the care process level (CP) include the use of physician extenders, such as having trained and culturally and linguistically competent nurses offer screening to patients. Another approach at the CP level is using training programs to educate clinicians on providing more culturally competent care. These programs could also address the effect of biases and stereotypes in clinical decision making (Green et al. 2007; van Ryn and Fu 2003). Such programs can improve the quality of care for racial/ethnic minority patients, as some studies are beginning to show (Beach et al. 2006).

Several other strategies have shown promise for reducing disparities. Health care navigators or promoters, often community members trained to serve in this capacity, can help identify minority patients and overcome barriers to their care. These strategies can address CP and PL but especially HS issues and have been helpful for cancer care, among other conditions (Frelix et al. 1999; Jandorf et al. 2005), and have improved health outcomes for all patients, not just minorities (Bradford, Coleman, and Cunningham 2007). Culturally competent disease management strategies are similar but often emphasize telephonic contact (HS, CP). Electronic medical records can help direct interventions to minority patients at risk (Fiscella and Geiger 2006). For example, evidence has shown that tracking/reminder systems for providers are effective in improving the quality of care for racial/ethnic minority patients (HS) (Beach et al. 2006). One study found that using electronic medical records to focus outreach and deliver clinical reminders improved some aspects of diabetes care (HS) (Sequist et al. 2006). The forum's participants recognized that the literature on proven strategies to address disparities is limited but growing and also that there is a clear need for more research, innovation, evaluation, and dissemination in this area. The foregoing examples offer some general guidance about how health care organizations might use quality improvement interventions to address racial and ethnic disparities in care.

Go to:

Moving to Action

We have summarized the Strategy Forum participants' ideas about *what* hospitals and health plans can do to identify and address disparities. Next we turn to *how* to adopt these approaches by securing the support of lead-

ership, developing incentives, and other possible approaches. These ideas come primarily from the fields of implementation research (incentives to change behaviors) and organizational excellence (securing support).

Securing the Support of Leadership

Both *Crossing the Quality Chasm* (IOM 2001) and *Unequal Treatment* (Smedley, Smith, and Nelson 2003) emphasize the importance of addressing racial/ethnic disparities in health care by improving quality. The Strategy Forum's participants concluded that eliminating disparities was not a priority for many health care leaders across the country and that it was necessary to develop strategies and tools to help them become interested in doing something about this. For example, an organizational assessment survey distributed to approximately 150 to 200 executives, physicians, and hospital managers at ten hospitals showed that only 3 percent of executives agreed or strongly agreed that disparities in health care were a major problem in their hospital and that 85 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that disparities were a major problem (McAlearney, personal communication, Ohio State University, 2006).

The forum's participants thus cited the need to (1) make the "case" (business, quality, safety, etc.) for addressing disparities and (2) provide incentives to raise the issue's importance. The health care literature offers a few examples of such approaches. One that has attracted attention is Aetna's disparities agenda (Betancourt and Weissman 2006; Hassett 2005). Aetna's former chairman and CEO, Dr. John W. Rowe, showed that change is possible when leaders decide to address disparities (Hassett 2005). Under his leadership, Aetna formed its Task Force on Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care and became the first major health plan to collect race/ethnicity data from its members. Aetna also required cultural competency training for medical directors and case managers and created health education tools and disease management programs for its members (Hassett 2005). Aetna was a pioneer in its field.

The city of Boston's "Disparities Project" (BPHC 2006), which was instigated by the mayor of Boston, Thomas Menino, included the City Data Report on Disparities, the Task Force Report on Addressing Disparities in Health Care, and the Hospital Working Group Report on Addressing Disparities in Health Care. In September 2005, Mayor Menino announced that $1 million in grant funds would be distributed to more than thirty organizations to carry out the report's recommendations and help eliminate racial and ethnic disparities in health and health care.

Other efforts to secure support from employers by making the business case to address disparities include the National Business Group on Health (NBGH), a national organization that represents more than 175 Fortune 500 companies, which launched its Health Disparities Initiative in 2001. The initiative cites two major financial incentives—the possibility of lower direct and indirect health care costs, as well as the retention in the workforce of racial and ethnic minority employees—as critical to making the business case for address-

ing disparities (Weinstock 2003). The Office of Minority Health at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the National Business Group on Health recently announced a two-year, $300,000 project that seeks to reduce racial and ethnic disparities in health care for minorities enrolled in employer-sponsored health plans. The project will educate employers about disparities in health care for minorities and will recommend steps to address the issue. Such steps include the use of health plans with networks of ethnically representative providers and the establishment of on-site health clinics for minorities, many of whom tend not to visit physicians (KFF 2008).

In summary, the overarching concern expressed by the Strategy Forum's participants was that if the leaders of hospitals and health plans are neither aware of racial/ethnic disparities in health care nor concerned about addressing them, progress will be minimal. Although several opinion leaders on this topic have emerged, there remains a need both to raise the visibility of racial/ethnic disparities as a quality problem and to create the "case" for why leaders should identify and address them.

Incentives for Addressing Disparities

To eliminate racial and ethnic disparities in health care, providers and leaders must feel a sense of urgency to act. The Strategy Forum's participants recognized that this sense could be driven by either a "carrot" (incentives) or a "stick" (regulation) approach, although most favored the former. They cited several sorts of incentives and regulations that might help eliminate disparities, such as pay-for-performance (P4P) mechanisms, public reporting, and awards programs, as well as actions by payers and accreditation standards. Although several of these approaches are being tried today, it is too soon to draw any conclusions about their impact (MGL 2007; NCQA 2006; Weinick 2007; Wilson-Stronks and Galvez 2007).

During the past decade, public and private purchasers of health care have begun implementing P4P programs to encourage physicians and hospitals to invest in improving quality (Casalino and Elster 2007). A variety of concerns have been raised, however, about the possibility that pay-for-performance quality incentives could end up increasing racial and ethnic disparities in care (Weinick 2007). For example, if the incentives were based on specific quality targets (e.g., 80 percent of diabetic patients have a HbA1c level below 9.0), then physicians who care for low-income minorities with greater barriers to care are likely to be less successful and miss out on financial incentives, which in turn could lead them to avoid caring for minorities. But if designed carefully, P4P programs could also do the opposite. For example, they could reward quality improvement rather than specific quality targets, or they could adjust for minority, lower-socioeconomic-status patients. They could even specifically reward the elimination of measured disparities. Work is currently being done to better understand the complexity of such incentives (Weinick 2007).

One of the more interesting efforts in this regard is being conducted by the state of Massachusetts (MGL 2007). In 2006, health care reform legislation was enacted that included a provision to make Medicaid hospital rate increases contingent on quality measures, such as those measuring the reduction of racial and ethnic disparities in health care (Duchon and Smith 2006).

To date, we know of no other pay-for-performance programs that have measured the reduction of racial and ethnic disparities in health care (Weinick 2007). In May 2007, the Medicaid director for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts outlined the approach to the pay-for-performance program that is currently being considered. This program would base incentives on five areas, one of which is racial and ethnic disparities in care. For the first year, only measures related to the Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services (CLAS) standards are included. For the second year, the plan will report "clinical measures in four categories relevant to the Medicaid population for hospitals with sufficient volume of patient race/ethnic mix" (Weinick 2007, p. 5).

Awards programs have been used primarily to recognize hospitals or health plans that have successfully implemented various quality improvement interventions. The Strategy Forum's participants thought that this approach could help find new ways to address disparities. Awards could help identify potential models for replication in other settings and provide a forum to recognize high-performing organizations, thereby demonstrating the importance and feasibility of these efforts. One example is the National Committee for Quality Assurance's (NCQA) Recognizing Innovation in Multicultural Health Care award program, which recognizes health plans for exemplary efforts and demonstrates effectiveness in promoting cultural competence and addressing the health care needs of diverse members (NCQA 2006). Through these awards, NCQA hopes to advance efforts to improve multicultural health care and eliminate health care disparities. The Baldrige Awards program was discussed as a possible model for performance excellence, as its criteria are accepted widely not only in the United States but also around the world. The criteria are designed to help organizations enhance their competitiveness by focusing on two goals: delivering growing value to customers and improving overall organizational performance (Ryan 2004, 2006; Spath 2004). Disparities activities could be made part of the awards criteria, or a similar award could be created for organizations that innovate in this area.

The "stick" approach to eliminate disparities is less clearly defined. The Joint Commission has hospital accreditation standards related to Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services (CLAS), but these currently focus on language barriers and interpretation rather than on recognizing and addressing disparities in care (The Joint Commission 2007). In the future, these may include culturally competent care and disparities (Wilson-Stronks and Galvez 2007). Similarly, while public reporting on disparities is still a sensitive subject, it may follow the path of quality reporting and eventually become an important

impetus for hospitals and other health care organizations to provide equitable care. While discrimination in health care based on race or ethnicity or otherwise is clearly a violation of the U.S. Civil Rights Act, the workshop's participants did not specifically identify legal action as a promising strategy for eliminating disparities, probably because of the difficulty in proving discrimination in a court of law and in linking an outcome to discrimination by race/ethnicity (Rosenbaum and Teitelbaum 2005). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act has, however, been used to press charges against certain health care organizations when, owing to the lack of access to an interpreter, a poor health outcome resulted (Chen, Youdelman, and Brooks 2007).

In a market-driven health care environment, incentives for organizations to reduce racial/ethnic disparities are a practical approach to the problem. Pay-for-performance mechanisms and awards programs are two promising strategies. While accrediting bodies such as the Joint Commission could play a larger role in this area, this may still be a few years away.

Messages and Communication

The final issue that emerged during the Strategy Forum was the importance of messages and communication about disparities efforts. This concept had two major components. First, the forum's participants felt that those hospitals and health plans that were interested in identifying and addressing disparities needed to communicate *internally* to their management, providers, staff, and patients why this was being done and what they could do to become partners in the process. For example, if a hospital made it known publicly that it was identifying and addressing disparities, might patients assume that there were disparities and thus be concerned about being treated differently? Might they become more hesitant to provide their race/ethnicity? Might providers be concerned that disparities efforts might in some way implicate them as culprits in the process? Might this initiative make patients suspicious of their health care providers? For all these reasons, the participants suggested that the goals of any disparities effort be communicated in a thoughtful way to a broad internal audience, without alienating anyone or creating unnecessary suspicions. In an attempt to address these concerns, Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) designed several posters to communicate its disparity-reduction efforts internally (http://www.mghdisparities.org/sub_edaware.html). The posters acknowledge the existence of disparities, highlight MGH's commitment to identifying and addressing them, and provide an overview of activities in this area. Similarly, the Boston Public Health Commission distributed posters and leaflets in several languages that all hospitals could use to explain to patients why hospitals were required to collect race/ethnicity information (BPHC 2006).

Second, participants raised the idea of a media strategy that would increase the country's awareness *externally* of racial/ethnic disparities in health care among health care providers and the public. Because health care providers are essential to the effort to eliminate disparities, they need to be familiar with

the issue, including the relevant evidence. Moreover, informing the public of the issue might create more informed and more active health care consumers. To address this need, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), in partnership with the nation's leading heart organizations, began using the mainstream media and the Internet to raise physicians' and the public's awareness of disparities in cardiac care (KFF 2002). To address physicians' awareness in particular, the KFF launched its Initiative to Engage Physicians in Dialogue about Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Medical Care in 2002. This initiative centered on a media campaign involving a partnership of thirteen medical organizations and had three components: an advertisement campaign in major medical publications, a review of the evidence regarding racial/ethnic disparities in cardiac care, and an outreach effort to engage physicians in dialogue.

Similarly, the National Business Group on Health, with the support of the RWJF, implemented a communications plan that featured a two-phase radio tour and media campaign for the Business Group's Health Disparities Initiative: Promoting Health for a Culturally Diverse Workforce. The goal was to give large employers information and practical solutions to address racial and ethnic disparities in health and health care.

While it is difficult to evaluate the impact of messages, communication, and public awareness efforts, there is no doubt that these strategies are important to any change process. There are few examples of how hospitals and health plans communicate why and how they are doing this work to their workforce, patients, and members, which remains a pertinent and necessary area for development.

Go to:

Conclusion

Since the release of the IOM Report *Unequal Treatment*, the issue of racial/ethnic disparities in health care has come to be recognized as a quality-of-care issue. Research has documented that minorities have a higher mortality for conditions that are amenable to surgery (Bach et al. 1999), more missed health promotion/disease prevention opportunities (American Cancer Society 2006; Goodman et al. 2006; Walsh et al. 2004), more tests in emergency rooms when they have limited proficiency in English (Goldman, Amin, and McPherson 2006; Hampers et al. 1999; Harris, Andrews, and Elixhauser 1997; Waxman and Levitt 2000), higher rates of medical errors, and longer lengths of stay for the same clinical condition (Divi et al. 2007; John-Baptiste et al. 2004). To date, the disparities agenda has been heavy on research to define the problem but light on effective, real-world strategies to address it.

While the recommendations of *Unequal Treatment* provided some overarching principles for what is needed to address disparities, experts must be enlisted to provide a real-world context and a blueprint for action. This was the goal of the Strategy Forum. Efforts to address racial/ethnic disparities in health

care depend on both the collection of patient race/ethnicity data by hospitals and health plans and the use of those data to identify differences in quality. There has been significant progress on the former but less progress on the latter. Research has shown that few hospitals and health plans both collect race/ethnicity information and examine it with an eye to finding disparities. Identifying areas where improvement is needed leads to the next important point in this process: developing interventions. Proven interventions to address disparities are few, and a debate continues about whether general quality improvement strategies can eliminate disparities, or whether interventions need to be tailored to the particular disadvantaged population.

The Strategy Forum's participants concluded that there was a critical need for a multifaceted plan of action to address racial and ethnic disparities in health care. They discussed a variety of approaches from the fields of implementation research and organizational excellence. Foremost among these was the need to secure the support of leadership, develop incentives to address disparities, and generate awareness and communicate disparities reduction efforts in a way that does not alienate the main actors. A review of the current context reveals some random progress, but we still do not have a strategy that takes into account the barriers to achieving equity in health care. Ultimately, the challenge lies not only in the development of strategies that would eliminate disparities but also in the difficult and often time-consuming process of persuading health care organizations across the country to adopt these strategies.

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Surviving the forest: ethnography of new haven`s tent city

Andrew U.K.

Abstract *The group discussions were audio recorded and the case managers' comments were transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were analyzed using thematic analysis, a deductive approach. Data were collected in 2013 and analyzed in 2015. Case managers are challenged by externalities (demographic shifts in target populations, poverty); contractual requirements (predefined catchment neighborhoods, caseload); limited support (client incentives, tailored training, and a high staff turnover rate); and logistic difficulties (organizational issues). Their approach to case management tends to be focused on linking Although Healthy Start case managers recognized the benefits of case management for facilitating optimal service delivery to women and their families, structural factors impact effective implementation. This study investigated case managers' views of 1) the structural challenges faced in implementing case management for program participants, and 2) possible strategies to enhance case management in medical home settings. Two focus groups were conducted separately with case managers from the four program service sites to gain insight into these issues noted above. Each group was co-facilitated by two evaluators using a previously developed semi-structured interview guide. Data were collected in 2013 and analyzed in 2015. Case managers are challenged by externalities (demographic shifts in target populations, poverty); contractual requirements (predefined catchment neighborhoods, caseload); limited support (client incentives, tailored training, and a high staff turnover rate); and logistic difficulties (organizational issues).*

Keywords: *Forest, externalities, logistic, dicciculties*

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Introduction

The study was conducted in the City of Chicago with the Chicago HS Program. The goal of the Chicago HS Program is to improve access to quality and maternal and child health services in order to reduce the high rate of infant mortality and minimize the racial disparity that exists in the project area. The project utilizes four medical centers to provide a comprehensive array of social and health services to program participants, mainly women of child bearing age and their young children ages 0–2 years residing in six Chicago community areas that are among the most "at-risk" in the City for low birth outcomes. Since inception in 1991, services have been provided in a culturally and socially appropriate manner. By creating a "one stop" facility for primary health care needs, all of the federally required Core Services and Core Systems for the project are integrated and synergistically enhanced, and paired with the provision of other services not funded by the project, including primary health care for family members, postpartum home follow-up, asthma, diabetes and other locally dictated services.

The four project family centers represent a collaborative effort between a community-based case management/social service agency and a primary health care center. This unique collaboration between an organization with expertise in the provision of social and case management services and a medical home that provides high quality preventative services overcomes many barriers to traditional service delivery. It ensures access to comprehensive, coordinated community-based care. However, because the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) requires delivery of program services to residents of approved project areas or neighborhoods [24], the "targeted catchment areas" for the Chicago HS program pose challenges to case managers' ability to implement the program. One hindrance is the "continuously changing social and political climate in which the program operates, such as demographic shifts in target populations, gentrification, the lack of available services, growing rates of poverty, State Medicaid eligibility criteria and immigration laws"[14]. Unlike the average resident, project participants tended to live below the poverty level, receive public aid, and not graduate from high school.

Study Design

Qualitative analysis through focus groups was used to gain insights into case manager's perceptions on challenges faced and strategies to enhance case management. A qualitative research strategy explicitly using group interaction was chosen to produce data and allow deeper insights into the problem [21, 25, 26].

Research Participants

All the 22 program case-manager supervisors, health educators and managers from the four project family centers were recruited to participant in the study in fall 2012 and spring 2013 from an email list obtained from administrators. A total of 19 participated in the focus groups (four to seven participants at

each site including 10 case managers, 3 health educators and one health therapist, and 6 supervisors. Case managers were interviewed separately from supervisors to allow case managers to freely discuss their challenges and emotions without fear [21, 25, 26]. The family centers have similar organizational structure, and target populations.

Procedure

All materials and study protocols were reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. This institutional review board also approved the consent procedure used in the study; with a waiver of the requirement for signed consent due to the anonymous nature of the survey (participants read a consent screen before participating). The focus groups were led by two experienced moderators, evaluation moderators with over ten years of experience in qualitative research (including facilitating focus groups), to ensure effective participation by all focus-group members. Moderators posed a series of open-ended questions using a semi-structured interview guide regarding views of the structural challenges faced in implementing case management of an urban HS Program, with a specific focus on organizational capacity (e.g., resources and skills) in the provision of case management and implementation of program interventions. The focus group guide is attached as S1 Focus Group Guide.

Focus groups lasted between 60 to 90 minutes, and participants were provided with lunch for their participation. Based upon participant consent, audio was recorded by the moderators and other notes taken. Further, participants filled out a brief survey of their demographic information, years of service, primary area of training and the nature of their service site. The focus-group discussions were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were reviewed by facilitators prior to analysis to help fill in portions unclear to the transcriptionist.

Data Analysis

Transcripts were analyzed using a deductive approach based on Braun and Clarke's proposed five phases of thematic analysis [27], to highlight themes and issues discussed by case managers and their supervisors in both focus groups while documenting divergent themes [28]. First, interview transcriptions were read for familiarity. Second, initial codes were generated. Third, we searched for emergent themes. Fourth, we reviewed themes, and lastly we defined and named themes while ensuring that the codes accurately captured the respondent's meaning. Inter-rater reliability and qualitative rigor was ensured by subjecting 25% of the raw data to review and coding by two independent reviewers, and the researchers further checked by presenting the study themes to a consortium and incorporating feedback into the analysis.

Organization and work environment.

Case managers identified work-group support, challenging work, creativity, organizational encouragement and internal communication as important

positive work-environment factors. Work conditions and involvement in implementing core services was perceived as the most conducive to meeting the complex needs of program participants and allowing case managers to be productive. Thus, one case manager at a family center characterized case management as anticipatory and therefore affording him the autonomy to intervene directly. He perceived this a contributor to positive outcomes, including better decision making regarding client care services and implementation of core services. Case managers are forced to set priorities and make timely decisions on linking clients to adequate and timely services, built around implementation of core services, as one reviewer summed up:

The typical Healthy Start person I encounter, maybe a young mother, first time mother, probably no family—no family support, no intentions of being pregnant, and probably don't have a clue on what she's going to do with the pregnancy. So, by being the case manager and meeting this mother, we kind of develop a plan on what to do with this pregnancy. ….and I think that is the difference with Healthy Start.

Another participant affirmed the importance of autonomy:

I like to think that if I wasn't here and had the independence to intervene immediately, then that baby probably wouldn't stand a chance.

Another case manager emphasized the importance of having a supportive work group that allows case managers to consult and collaborate on an ongoing basis.

I think my co-workers are very resourceful. I can go to them and they'll help me in getting things done and preventing mistakes and getting clients linked to services quickly.

One supervisor, when asked to explain how they deal with some case managers' employment-related issues, said:

As the supervisor of case managers, whatever problems that we have, we tackle them as a team. It is more or less, it's not a weekly meeting, but it's a case conference. So we case conference a lot.

Case managers also appreciated supervisors' openness and receptivity to new ideas, flexibility and accessibility.

She has an open-door policy, so if we feel we have to have a meeting with her alone she is good about giving us that time. We also meet once a month to discuss complicated cases.

However, some of the case managers and supervisors reported concerns on the new requirement for graduate level education for case managers and the state/program's ability to offer competitive compensation packages, and attract those willing to work in underserved and stressful neighborhoods. For instance, there was uncertainty on the degree qualification—an advanced degree in maternal and child health or on-the-job training for organization-specific responsibilities, as expressed by this case manager:

I know that home visiting is being looked at overall, but what does qualify mean? Does it mean a person that has a Ph.D. in maternal child health?

Several were skeptical. For example, one participant said: *"not everyone can be successful at performing this job;"* another commented *"it takes a special person to do this type of work*.

This view was echoed by another participant who said that "*Ph.D holders are not going to want to work with a high risk person at the salary rate, in the homes, in neighborhoods where people are."* The comment below sums up the general feeling that the job of case manager has limited financial rewards and takes a special person:

To leave the comfort of your office and meet someone on their own—in their neighborhoods—and if you've seen these neighborhoods, we're in the worst neighborhoods. There are guns, drugs, gangs; we don't get any police escorts, any cell phones, anything. So, you have to have a need to help people or not be afraid.

Outreach and Recruitment.

Strategies used for outreach and recruitment varied greatly across all family centers. However, most case managers indicated that word of mouth (peers) and referral were the most powerful outreach tools. Thus, being located in a federally-qualified health center (FQDC) gave case managers' access to patient records from the center and Medicare patients from *Cornerstone*, the State's Case Management Information System (CMIS), and therefore improved new client recruitment, referral and retention of existing ones. Below are some responses to the question: that asked; "How do you recruit clients into the HS program?"

Because we a federally-qualified health center, our clientele comes within our organization……. We also have access to Medicare clients that would be assigned in Cornerstone; we have clients that don't come here.

I've had quite a few clients bring a client to me. Their friend or their family member had told them about the program.

Case managers' work load, poverty, homelessness and gentrification.

On views on client recruitment and retention, many case managers were unsure about the contractual conditions and impacts of case load and challenges of working with predefined catchment areas. This included potential impacts on day-to-day tasks—including home visits—of a mandated caseload of 40 pregnant women per case manager per month.

A review of contractual conditions revealed that the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) requires delivery of program services to residents of approved project areas [29] and reimburses programs based on caseload. In all four family centers, concerns were raised over the continuously changing social and political environment in which they operate, especially the rapid demographic shifts in target populations in Chicago neighborhoods due to gentrification [30, 31]. According to case managers, gentrification has displaced low income residents (target program participants), and along with the fixed

service areas exacerbated challenges on outreach efforts, as expressed by these case managers:

Our boundaries stay the same but the population moved out.

Lots of clients moved out of the area because the neighborhoods are becoming expensive to live in, *so some of those clients*, *even though they have high risk*, *we cannot really enroll them because they're out of the target area*.

Although there have been efforts to expand outreach efforts to meet such demographic shifts in target populations in Chicago, not all were successful at meeting the caseload requirements of 40 pregnant women per month per case manager. For example, one case manager noted,

We are supposed to have 40 pregnant women each month, *so right now*, *because of our struggle with finding clients in the area*, *I have 16 pregnant women and the rest are infants or children*.

In addition, the growing rates of poverty and homelessness among target neighborhoods, and the highly mobile and transient nature of clients has undermined client recruiting and home visits. Some participants expressed the belief that the city of Chicago did not account for the effects of gentrification on renters who lived with friends, most of whom qualify for program services. As one supervisor put it:

I would think that—when the government started tearing the projects down, *I don't think they accounted for all the people who squat in other people's homes*. *So you give a resident a new apartment*, *but this resident had 30 families living there*, *literally*, *30 families living in her house*. *And with the new rules*, *no one but her can be on the lease*. *So*, *now*, *she can't bring anybody with her*. *So*, *that leaves all of these families out here*.

Case managers at one service site addressed the above-described tension by operating two sites to meet caseload requirements. Others indicated retaining program clients on caseload if they moved out of the catchment area but came back to receive services.

We have many program clients that move out of the area but if they have lived in this area, *if they moved out*, *they let us follow them*.

While a few case managers felt that the program should allow catchment neighborhoods to expand to reflect the changing demographic shifts, most were reluctant, fearing new challenges for performing day-to-day tasks, home visitations and meeting contractual requirements. When asked, "What are some challenges that will emerge if boundaries were expanded?" one case manager responded:

Let us say I have 40 pregnant women on my case load. *The grant requires two face-to-face contacts with every pregnant woman a month so that is 80 face-to-face*. *Out of the 80 face-to-face*, *40 of them have to be home visits*. *That is 40 home visits and 40 office visits*, *assuming all of the clients come in here to see us … but it is not possible if the boundaries expand*.

Gaps in Prenatal and Other Service Provision

Case managers in both focus groups generally suggested additional training for capacity building and enhanced skills, and support with training materials, to allow them to better respond to challenges emerging from the changing program demographics, notably in areas of immigration and health insurance.

Because we work with a high immigration populations they get nervous about us going to their home and they often have trouble understanding the complex government system when applying for services, and why we have to conduct home visitations. They think we are going to report them; as such we have to clear that up right away.

Some case managers cited problems with finding housing for program clients, and clients having problems with access to specialized care, and lacking courage to seek services, support and episodic care after hours. Clients needing specialized care are often referred.

Sometimes it's just even transportation, just getting here. ……or being able to travel to access specialized care on behavioral health, dental, and ultrasound.

Case managers and supervisors also bemoaned the lack of client incentives to assist in outreach and client retention, and favored the reinstating of such incentives across service sites.

Organizational Determinants and Other Enabling Factors

Support and service-site skill levels for evaluation.

Most case managers had mixed feelings on whether or not their service site is skilled at using data to assess program impacts (e.g. ages and stages), monitor program core services or undertake long term participant follow ups. Further, case managers spoke to the need for clearly identified performance measures, rather than just operational outputs, for monitoring program impact. Both focus groups revealed a high level of frustration caused by this lack of standardized performance measures, which makes it difficult, for example, to measure the success and impact of educational materials.

How do you measure something which will be different, of course, in every organization?

Measurements, it's black and white. We're not talking the same language, the same outcome, and the same measurements.

When asked to indicate their level of agreement with each of the organizational support statements, a majority agreed that case managers are appropriately trained, hired specifically to implement program core services, have timely access to information about core services, and have participated in professional development. Some also agreed that staffing levels are adequate, and that there is adequate administrative support and professional development opportunities at their service sites and within the program.

Need for case manager training.

Case managers acknowledged receiving different types of training during the course of their employment and expressed satisfaction with the on-the-job training. They, however, revealed a lack of consistency in the training provided,

with some indicating knowledge gaps on important maternal and child health topics. Case managers would like to have more training tailored to child disorders (e.g., autism, Down syndrome), the Affordable Care Act, and to strategies on how to approach an outside agency. Several case managers expressed the need for training and seminars on immigration-related issues, as well.

Many of our clients are undocumented; they don't have access to many services that people with low income who are U.S. citizens have access to.

Benefits of mandated partnerships and consortium meetings for clients.

Focus-group discussions of views on and suggestions for mandated consortium meetings in terms of client benefits, case managers generally perceived building partnerships and collaborations with the community and a number of agencies as essential for delivery of care closer to communities and in linking clients to needed services. Likewise, participation in consortium meetings was believed to enhance partnerships and networks among HS family centers and maternal and child health programs, and was essential for a return to seamless, unduplicated services from multiple service providers and better outcomes around quality healthcare for women and children within local health systems.

Consortium meetings are held bimonthly (on fourth Wednesday of every other month), and each center is contractually required to send at least two client representatives to ensure that the whole community is committed to reduce infant mortality and low birth weight in target neighborhoods. They offer an opportunity for family centers to keep client families at the forefront of service delivery. Topics discussed varies, including discussing, planning, and providing unique community activities or training that strengthen and empowered perinatal health in the target neighborhoods, and contribute to efforts to establish perinatal health standards often shared throughout the neighborhoods.

However, all four family health centers also experienced challenges with engaging and sustaining client participation at consortium meetings, including poor attendance. Causes identified for the low client participating included conducting consortium meetings too early in the day for some clients, and lack of client transfer bus cards, client engagement, and child care, along with language barriers and fixed meeting location. The following quotes from case managers illustrate the client-participation challenge.

…..for a Mom that has children, whether it's one or three, and she has to get them to school and it starts at 9:30; that's why we don't have a high turnout as we want to.

We are encouraged to bring clients but our clients don't understand what they are talking about. We don't have a translator there.

Some case managers suggested that consortium meetings be rotated among each family center instead of having them at the same location. Others proposed the reinstating of client incentives across service sites to enhance outreach and client retention.

Reporting requirements and State's Case Management Information System (CMIS)-Cornerstone.

Most case managers reported problems in using the state CMIS. These include a high number of required reports in the CMIS database and being user-unfriendly—too many data entry screens, and reporting assessment forms that repeat the same information. One case manager had this to say:

I think Cornerstone is a helpful tool, *to keep records on what we are working on with a client*. *I just think a lot of the information is too repetitive*.

Some reported on the issue of too many screens on follow up:

You have to enter so many screens, *it is so easy to miss one screen and it is almost like you didn't do the work if you didn't enter that one screen*—(another)

A common view amongst interviewees in regards to the CMIS and data use is that this *"illustrates the apparent discrepancies in information kept at family centers and information that the state downloads from CMIS*," and concerns that the State's data do not reflect actual program performance.

Discussion

This study provided insights into the challenges that supervisors and case managers face in the provision of case management to women, children and families enrolled in the Chicago HS program. Our findings revealed that numerous structural factors influence supervisors' and case managers' ability to more efficiently provide case-management services.

As in previous studies [32, 33], these supervisors and case managers recognized the benefits of using case management as a vehicle for overcoming system fragmentation and for facilitating optimal service delivery to women and their families, and sought to link clients to available services in a timely manner. They clearly also strove to meet the program rules, guidelines and timelines, and respond to the evolving operating environment through rapid demographic shifts and gentrification [30, 31]. Likewise the impact of case managers work load of poverty, homelessness and gentrification are mixed. On one hand, poverty, homelessness and gentrification undermines the ability of case managers to recruit and retain patients and therefore meeting the mandated caseload. On the other hand, this potentially increases the workload in terms effort per client in cases where case managers are forced to follow clients outside mandated service areas in order to meet mandated caseloads. This has forced providers to consistently balance meeting contractual service-area conditions [24] and addressing the real needs of shrinking or mobile clients. The required caseload in the predefined program catchment neighborhoods and home visits are less likely to be achieved under the current operating environment.

Our findings also help explain why inconsistent implementation under the HS program [14, 34] undermines the performance of case management, an otherwise robust and powerful model, particularly, for individuals who have multiple health needs. For instance, there remain tensions in meeting contractual client-participation requirements and addressing real challenges that undermine

same participation, even as efforts to address it are undertaken. These results corroborate the ideas of Plough (1994), who suggested that "there are conflicts inherent in a model that is defined and controlled by the federal government but simultaneously calls for substantial community participation and control" [19] Further, the overall program complexity of striving to safeguard community and civic participation while trying to adhere to other contractual conditions had most case managers feeling overwhelmed. These results are also consistent with other studies which found that efficient program implementation is generally affected by organization support and adequate local capacity to use resources effectively [17, 18].

This finding is particularly important in light of studies showing that the underlying theoretical model driving how a program is put in place is associated with missed opportunities for reaching out to those in need of services [35]. In short, while restricting the provision of services to the predefined neighborhoods may meet contractual conditions, the program may not consistently reach those who need the HS program services the most. These results further support the idea of Hanks (2008), who calls for a new model that "builds on the iterative learning cycles and shared decision making of community participatory research to better address the transactional relationship between program targets, providers and funder needs [35]," than rigid adherence to the current HS models.

Training in the implementation of achievable quality outcomes and performance measures should target all case managers responsible for providing direct services to program clients. Furthermore, some studies indicate that factors other than case manager training (e.g., "the tension between the need for consistent measurement across communities and the need for flexible measures that reflect community-specific adaptations and conditions" [36]) may be more important predictors of delivery of interventions. These findings provide further support for the need for performance measurements in general which clearly delineate target benchmarks and definitions for performance improvement.

Another major concern was the CMIS, in particular the perception by case managers that it is not adequately user friendly or customized to local needs. Some program staff reported using a workaround plug-in, a report writing module/add-on to the CMIS, but because no training had been provided, most program staff was unable to use it. These results were also observed in our previous study [21].

This study was exploratory and bears the limitations inherent in such research, such as the inability to generalize given the small sample size. While the sample size of 19 respondents may appear small, it covers nearly all Chicago program employees who work directly with program clients in the delivery of all program components in the four service centers participated in the focus groups, and the number is reasonable for case-study qualitative research. The

skewed gender representation (only one man out of 19) is inherent in the provider population. Further, most participants were new to the program (1 to 2 years) and virtually all Hispanic or Latino. This potentially limits the diversity of views and excludes those of other ethnic groups. In addition, our study used predefined themes adapted from Hanusaik and colleagues' [37] conceptual model. In truth, this theory contains a number of additional determinants that our study was not designed to evaluate. However, despite these limitations and the exploratory nature of this study, it offers insights for a nuanced understanding of the challenges that many HS case managers encounter or are likely to encounter as they implement case management to link women and children to needed services, and opens avenues for targeted interventions to resolve some of the issues.

In summary, this small qualitative study demonstrated that case managers are sensitive to contractual conditions, although they operate in an environment that is undergoing rapid population shifts, changing demographics and gentrification. New approaches may help alleviate frustrations relating to structural factors that undermine effective implementation of case management in the program. In addition, a system that emphasizes quality improvement and the newly transformed Healthy Start 3.0 currently underway should help.

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Author Contributions

Conceived and designed the experiments: IM PM. Performed the experiments: IM PM. Analyzed the data: IM PM. Contributed reagents/materials/analysis tools: IM PM. Wrote the paper: IM PM. Obtained the data and conducted the analyses, and drafted the manuscript: IM. Designed the study. All authors read and approved in the final version of the manuscript: PM.

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The modern problems of linguistics researchers of Altai languages: philological – historical review

Jalilbayli Ogtai

Abstract *The Altai linguistic family unites the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus-Manchu languages on the basis of genetic commonness. The term "Altai" refers to their intended ancestral home. Some researchers (the author of the site does not belong to them) also attribute Korean, Japanese, and Ruikuish languages to the Altai family. The 39 living languages of the Altai family, distributed in the 3 groups listed above, are spoken by over 200 million people in Western, Central, Northern and Northeast Asia, as well as in Europe. The most common Altai languages are Turkish, Uzbek, Kazakh, Azeri, Tatar, Turkmen, Kyrgyz and Mongolian. In view of the extinct Altai family includes about 50 languages. The Altai (Oirot) language, spoken in the Altai Republic, should not be confused with the family name. He is a member of the Turkic group of the Altai family. The Tungus-Manchu languages are spoken in northern and eastern Siberia (the taiga zone, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, the Amur region), and also in northeastern China. The Tungus-Manchurian languages are subdivided into 3 branches: Siberian, or northern (Evenki, Even and Negidal), Amur (Nanai, Ulchi, Orok, Oroch and Udegei) and southern (Manchurian and extinct Jurchen). The number of speakers in Russia is about 60 thousand people. The ancestral home of the Tungus-Manchu is localized in the Amur region or Central China. They are also expected to be on the eve of the collapse of the pre-linguistic state (I millennium) in the territory of the western Baikal region. Manchu writing was created in 1599 on the basis of Mongolian writing.*

Keywords: *Altai language, linguistics, turkic studies, grammar, lexicology, lexicography.*

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Introduction

A lot of work has been done in this direction over the past years. Information about the Altai language dictionaries published before 2003 are disclosed in the published article in the Altai language NA Dayym "Altai Tildy sözlikteri n" [1, p. 59-65]. To the scientific readings dedicated to the 110th anniversary of N. A. Baskakov, which took place in the Altaistic Research Institute S. S. Surazakova in 2015, we prepared the report "The Lexicography of the Altai Language: Becoming and Modern Development", which presented a brief overview of the lexicographical works, starting with the "Dictionary of the Altai and Aladagian Adverbs of the Turkic Language" by V. I. Verbitsky and ending editions of recent years. The material from this report is included in this article. The lexicography of the Altai language originates from the "Dictionary of the Altai and Aladagsky adverbs of the Turkic language" by V. I. Verbitsky [2]. The appearance of this publication is associated with the activities of the Altai Mission, which began its work in Altai in 1830 [3]. V.I. Verbitsky along with missionary activity was engaged in the study of the language, culture and life of the local population. Later, the vocabulary of the Altai language was presented in the fundamental work of V. V. Radlov "The Experience of the Dictionary of Turkic Adverbs" [4]. The dictionary is based on the words of the Altai mountain Kalmyks (as the scientist calls the Southern Altaians, that is, the speakers of the Altai-Kizhi dialect) and the Teleuts, with which he begins the study of the Altai language. Then to the dictionary V.V. Radlov adds, in addition to the vocabulary on other Turkic languages of the studied area, words on tuba dialect. The author also added his work with words from the materials of N. I. Ilminsky and the Altai Spiritual Mission. In the initial Soviet period, a number of bilingual dictionaries were published, compiled by S. Ya. Kumandin and P. P. Tydykov. In 1923, the Altai-Russian Dictionary was compiled by S. Ya. Kundinin [5]. The dictionary was replaced by the spelling of some letters of the missionary alphabet: i> i, n> n. Also, the dictionary is characterized by the presence of dialect words. In 1926, the Russian-Altai Dictionary of P.P. Tydykov [6]. According to the author, when compiling the dictionary, he used material from V. V. Radlov and V. I. Verbitsky's dictionaries. The work explains the correct pronunciation of the letters k, z , j, n, q, e, e in the Altai language. In 1931, the 2nd edition of the Russian-Altai Dictionary [7] was published, in which the Altai text is printed in Latin, because in the 30s A new Altai alphabet is introduced (na n alif), based on the Latin alphabet. The author notes that the 10th dictionary was published without any processing. New terms have been added to the dictionary over the years since the first edition. Since 1922, in connection with the formation of the Oirot Autonomous Region, the Altai and other indigenous ethnic groups officially became known as Oirot, and their language as Oirot.

In 1961, the Concise Russian-Altai Dictionary-Phrasebook [9] was published under the signature of GANIIIYAL (Gorno-Altai Research Institute of History, Language and Literature; now the Research Institute of Altaistics named

after SS Surazakov). The Phrasebook was compiled by O. G. Sabashkina, the dictionary by N. A. Kuchigasheva. Alphabet information is written by T. M. Toshchakova. In 1964, under the editorship of N. A. Baskakov, the “Russian-Altai Dictionary” [10] was published, including about 33,000 words. The work goes under the heading HANIIIYAL.This dictionary was compiled under the direction of N. A. Kuchigasheva by a number of authors, including S. N. Babayakov, N. T. Barantayev, V. A. Kalanakov, N. P. Kuchiyak, E. G. Multueva, and others. Editor Dictionary was T. M. Toschakova. This dictionary is the first significant in terms of the Russian-Altai dictionary and, as its compilers note, is not only translational, but also normative. Published in 1991, the Altai-Russian Dictionary. Russian-Altai Dictionary "N.I. Kogunbayeva is focused on primary schoolchildren and contains “the most necessary, minimum number of words reflecting objects and phenomena from the material and spiritual life of 11 Altaians and Russians; objects and phenomena of nature; plant and animal world ”[11, p. 6]. In 2015, the first volume of the “Russian-Altai Dictionary” (A – O) [22] was published, the editor-in-chief of which is A.E. Chumakaev. "Russian-Altai Dictionary", prepared by the staff of the Altai language research group of the Altaistic Research Institute S. S. Surazakova, differs from the previous one both in terms of the design of vocabulary entries and in the composition of the vocabulary. In this dictionary, Russian words are provided with stylistic marks, the meanings of polysemous words are clarified, translations of words are in most cases supported by illustrative material. New in the Altai translations of the verbal stems, from which one or another verb forms are formed, is also new. Dictionary vocabulary significantly replenished with new words. By the end of 2016, the second volume of the Russian-Altai Dictionary (P – Z) will be published. The structure of vocabulary articles, their content were repeatedly discussed at meetings of the scientific group of the Altai language, were the subject of discussion at the institute seminar. Valuable dictionary advice was obtained from colleagues from other institutions, including Dr. Filol. Sciences, Head. the sector of languages of the peoples of Siberia, deputy director of the Institute of Philology of the SB RAS N. N. Shirobokova. The scientific editor of the dictionary is Dr. Filol. Sciences, Head. by the Department of Ural-Altaic Languages of the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences A. V. Dybo.The two-volume "Russian-Altai Dictionary" was the result of the work of the group of authors during 2012-2014. on the project “Russian-Altai Dictionary” of the Departmental Target Program of the Altaistic Research Institute S. S. Surazakova. To date, dictionaries for individual dialects of the Altai language have been published.

Lexicology Studies on the vocabulary of the Altai language are presented in numerous publications in various scientific collections and a number of monographs, including “Taboo vocabulary and euphemisms in the Altai language” [34] N. A. Yaimova, “Phraseological units with a value of a qualitative characteristic and condition of a person in Altai in comparison with Russian ”[35] A.E.

Chumakaeva," Verbs of mental activity in 15 Altai language (in comparison with [36] B. B. Sanalova, "The semantic field of color terms in the Altai language (in comparison with the Mongolian language)" [37] A. N. Mayzina, "The lexico-semantic group of the names of adjectives of visual perception in the Altai language (in [38] O. M. Alchikova, "Toponyms of the south-eastern border areas of the Republic of Altai in comparison with Mongolian toponyms [39] K. B. Samtakova," Everyday vocabulary of the Altai language (ethno-linguistic aspect) "[40] N.V. Erlenbaeva. At this stage of the development of Altai linguistics, it is necessary to continue the description of various subject groups of words, to fill up information about the vocabulary of the Altai language.Dialectology Altai language dialects are actively studied by linguistic experts. According to the materials of the Altai language dialects various articles, dictionaries and monographic studies have been published. The first work on the Altai dialectology can be considered the "Grammar of the Altai language", prepared by V.I. Verbitsky and other members of the Orthodox mission and published in 1869 [41]. The basic works on Altai dialects include the monographs of N. A. Baskakov "Altai language (introduction to the study of the Altai language and its dialects)" [42], "Northern dialects of the Altai (Oirot) language. Dialect of Black Tatars (Tuba-Kizhi) "[43]," Northern dialects of the Altai (Oirot) language. Dialect of Kumandy (kumandy-kiji) "[44]," Northern dialects of the Altai (Oirot) language. Dialect of the Lebedin Tatar-Chalkans (Kuu-Kiji) "[45]. Materials on dialects of the Altai language were also published in a number of issues of the scientific collection "Indigenous Languages of Siberia" [46], which is published by the Institute of Philology of the SB RAS. Grammar Studies The first grammatical structure of the Altai language was described in the Grammar of the Altai Language, compiled by members of the Altai spiritual mission and published in 1869 in Kazan [41]. The publication of the Grammar of the Altai language was one of the most important results of the educational work of the missionaries. The work on the "Grammar ..." was directly involved major scientists, Türkologists of the time V. I. Verbitsky and N. I. Ilminsky. In compiling the grammar, missionaries, apart from their own, used materials from the "Samples ..." of V.V. Radlov [4]. In the Preface to the "Grammar ..." it is indicated that the Altai language means the combination of the Altai and Teleut dialects (dialects), and it is also noted that a great closeness to the ancient Turkic language was preserved by the adverb (dialect) of the dark-skinned Tatars (Tubalars); the differences between the adverbs of the black Tatars and the language of the Altaians and Teleuts. The Grammar of the Altai language received the highest marks in the scientific world and served as a model for creating grammars in other Turkic languages. The well-known Russian turkologist E. R. Tenishev wrote: "..." Altai grammar ", despite its practical goals, is essentially a versatile original study that retains its theoretical value for general linguistics and for Turkic linguistics, especially for the theory of grammar" [47, p. 12]."The grammar of the Altai language" consists of three sections. In the first section, the

sound structure of the Altai language is described, with the peculiarities of the pronunciation of words among various ethnic groups of the Altaians. The second section presents a system of parts of the speech of the Altai language. The third section deals with the syntax of the Altai language. In addition, Russian-Altai and Altai-Russian dictionaries are attached to this grammar at the end . Only 70 years later, in 1940, the following comprehensive description of the system of the Altai language and its dialects — The Grammar of the Oirot language by N. P. Dyrenkova [48] was published. The chief editor of this publication was S. E. Malov. He emphasizes that "... the grammar of N. P. Dyrenkova is favorably distinguished by a large abundance of material cited everywhere" and that "N. P. Dyrenkova gives her grammar completely reliable material with clear formulations and grammatical explanations ... "[48, p. ten].

Runic letter Runic monuments of Gorny Altai have long attracted and continue to attract the attention of researchers. In the work of A. M. Shcherbak "The Turkic Runic. The origin of the most ancient written language of the Turks "[95] Altai is marked as the northern boundary of the distribution of the variety of the runic alphabet, called the Yenisei alphabet. I. L. Kyzlasov notes the variety of runic inscriptions in Altai, which is expressed in the use of several runic alphabets [96, p. 146-149]. One of the latest works on the Runic monuments of Gorny Altai is the Catalog of Ancient Turkic runic monuments of Gorny Altai, compiled by L. N. Tybykova, I. A. Nevskaya , M. Erdal [97]. 22 Conclusion The review of works on Altai linguistics shows that Altai linguistics continues its development, supplemented with new research. Relevant for the Altai language is the creation of dictionaries that are currently missing. This is, first of all, a word-formation dictionary, dictionaries of synonyms, antonyms, etc. It is also necessary to reprint existing dictionaries, for example, spelling and phraseological dictionaries. It requires further study and description of the vocabulary of the Altai language and its dialects. In addition, it is necessary to generalize studies on phonetics and syntax, by preparing the relevant sections of the grammar of the Altai language. Other private questions of the Altai language also require attention.

The socio-culturological direction is presented by a number of reports analyzing the development of religious denominations in the studied region, transitive processes in the sphere of culture, ecology, youth subculture, potestary relations. Within the framework of the conference, a round table discussion "Actual issues of modern Altai spelling" was held, at which the reports of candidates of philological sciences, employees of the Altaistic Research Institute of them. Ss Surazakova: A.E. Chumakaeva "About Some Problematic Issues of Modern Spelling "and N.D. Almadakova "On the issues of modern Altai spelling and orthoepy." The participants of the round table noted that the problems of spelling of the modern Altai language should be further considered in the framework of a separate scientific event with the involvement of scholars from various educational and scientific institutions, specialists of the Ministry of

Education and Science of the Altai Republic, and school teachers in order to find the best ways to improve Altai spelling. During the discussion of the conference problems, the following specific suggestions and recommendations were made: To assist in the organization and conduct of scientific research, scientific and practical conferences, seminars, round tables devoted to the multifaceted study of the linguistic, historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of the Altai Republic. Include in the main event "Promoting the ethnocultural diversity of peoples in terms of preserving and developing the linguistic diversity of peoples living in the territory of the Altai Republic" of the state program of the Altai Republic "Cultural Development" projects:

- to create a national corpus of the Altai language and its dialects; - on the preservation of the folklore heritage of the Altaians (digitization of audio recordings, handwritten materials).

Establish a grant for scientists of the Republic of Altai to study the intangible cultural heritage of the Altai people.

To organize a system of control over the publication of works of art in the Altai language in order to prevent violations of the current spelling.

Coordinate the scientific work of researchers to preserve the linguistic, historical and cultural heritage of the peoples of the Republic of Altai. To provide funds for the publication of scientific works, the organization of annual expeditionary works on the collection of folklore, language and ethnographic material. To form a working group of scholars of the Research Institute of Altaistics. Ss Surazakova and Gorno-Altaisk State University for the development of the national electronic corpus of the Altai language and its dialects. 4. To organize (in 2017 or 2018) a scientific-practical conference on the spelling of the Altai language with the involvement of scholars from various scientific and educational institutions, specialists from the Ministry of Education and Science of the Altai Republic, and school teachers from the Altai Republic.

ALTAI LANGUAGES, a family in the composition of the Nostratic languages . Modern A. i. distributed in Asia and Eastern Europe - in a vast area from the Balkans to the Magadan region and from the Taimyr Peninsula to the Fars region (Iran) and the Ryukyu Islands (Japan). The total number of speakers of A. i. over 380 million people (2004, assessment).

The Altai family includes the Turkic languages , the Mongolian languages , the Manchu-Tungus languages , the Korean language , and the Japanese-Rui languages . Inside the Nostratic languages is characterized by a special affinity with the Uralic languages. and Dravidian languages . Hypothesis about the special proximity of A. i. with the Urals (existing since the 18th century) can be refuted in the framework of the Nostratic theory; specific affinity of the Uralic languages and A. i. may be explained by the similar habitat of their carriers and numerous contacts at different chronological levels. The definition of "Altai" indicates the intended ancestral home of the family, which, however, according to the latest data, was to the south, in what is now North China.

According to glottochronology , the disintegration of the Altai proto-language into the eastern and western branches dates back to approximately 6th millennium BC. er The disintegration of the first in the Japanese and Korean branches occurred in the 3rd millennium BC. er Apparently, between these dates, the West Altai (so-called mainland) branch was divided into the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus-Manchu branches (or languages of the inner circle).

Phonological systems of modern A. i. have a number of common properties. For the vocalism of most A. i. characteristic harmonicity of various types. For the Altai proto-language, the absence of harmonicity is restored. In A. i. There is practically no phonologically significant dynamic stress. In many Western Altai languages, in a certain period of their development, long vowels and ascending diphthongs were noted . For the Altai proto-language, apparently, the opposition of vowels in long-short and in tone(high-low) was relevant . Consonantism characterized by restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes in the position of the beginning of a word, a tendency to weakening in the initial position, a tendency to open syllable. Noisy explosives are usually contrasted by strength-weakness or voiced-deafness. There are no phonologically relevant postellar. General tendencies in the phonetic change of aura law: a tendency to establish a syngarmonism of various types; reduction of the phonological system in anlaut; compression and simplification of combinations, leading to a decrease in the length of the root.

For the morphology of A. i. characteristic agglutination of the suffix type. Common to all A. i. the grammatical category of the name is a case, in the West Altai languages there are also categories of number and belonging. Almost all Altai case systems are characterized by a nominative case with a zero case index; a form with a zero indicator is also used in many postpositions . This form is restored for the Altai proto-language. Affixes of accusative, genitive, partitive, dative and instrumental cases are also reconstructed. There are a number of common indicators with locative, directional, and similar values.

For the Altai proto-language, it is difficult to restore the general indicators of the grammatical number, a large number of collective affixes with various shades of meanings are restored.

Personal pronouns of the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus-Manchu languages reveal significant coincidences; Wed the distinction between the direct (bi-) and indirect (m-) bases of the pronouns of the 1st person; the basis of the pronoun of the 2nd person in the Mongolian languages (* t-> n-) differs from the Turkic and Tungus-Manchu (s-). In Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu languages, inclusive and exclusive pronouns of the 1st person plural are distinguished (see Inclusive , Exclusive). Ancient Japanese pronouns of the 1st (m / wanu) and 2nd (si / söne) entities are associated with continental pronouns. Possessive pronouns are derived from personal ones; In Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu languages there are reciprocating possessive pronouns.

Contrary to the often expressed opinion, for A. I. reconstructed the general system of numerals from 1 to 10.

For the verb systems of most A. i. characteristic analyticism . Only 2 verb forms are primordial: the imperative mood (in the form of a pure stem) and the desired mood (in -s-). Other finite forms are etymologically different verbal names standing in a predicative position or decorated with predicative affixes (usually expressing a person and a number). The indicators of these verbal names (which now play the role of species-time and perfectibility) reveal a significant material similarity. Category pledgein a. i. rather, it is derivational: with general structural proximity, it retains few materially identical indicators. For Turkic and Tungus-Manchu languages, the inclusion of the category of denial in the verbal paradigm is characteristic, but its indicators do not match. There are several common modal parameters (see . Modality). Personal coordination of verb forms is presented in West Altai languages; its indices go back ultimately to personal pronouns. In Japanese and Korean, the developed category of politeness is a functional analogue of personal agreement.

And I. demonstrate a significant number of common derivational indicators, languages of the nominative structure with the predominant order of the words "subject + addition + predicate" and definition preposition . In the West-Altai languages, izafet meets with a possessive indicator for the word to be defined. The existential way of expressing possession is used mainly (that is, “I have”, not “I have”). The term “Altai type of complex sentence” is associated with the preference of A. i. absolute constructions with a verb in nonfinite form before subordinate clauses.

These data indicate that in the phonological systems of the Turkic languages of Southern Siberia (except for Shor), from 16 to 19 consonant phonemes are distinguished. At the same time, the minimum number of consonant units - 16 is represented in the Tuvan language (sut-Khol dialect of the central dialect); in Altai, Kumandin, Khakassia - 17 phonemes each, in Chalkan, Tuba and Tuvan literature - 18 each, in Baraba-Tatar and Kalmak languages - 19 phonemes; There are 35 units in the Shor language. Based on the postulate that one of the indicators of systemic (paradigmatic) complexity is structural detail (McWhorter 2007), the number of constituent elements (Nichols 2009) —in our case, the number of consonant phonemes necessary to generate surface forms, we can suggest the following hierarchy of Turkic languages in order of increasing complexity of their systems: Tuva (day-Khol) / Altai, Kumandy, Khakass / Chalkan, Tuba, Tuva (literary) / Kalmak, Baraba-Tatar / Shor . This sequence, in principle, coincides with the expectations of the author of the article, based on the extensive experience of conducting auditory and instrumental studies of sound systems in the languages of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. Absolute rejection is caused only by the status of the Tuvinian language (sut-Khol dialect), which occupies a niche in the specified chain of language with the least complex consonant system. In our opinion, reducing the problem of absolute

complexity only to the number of elements that make up the system (Miestamo 2008) simplifies and distorts the problem. In the study of the structural and taxonomic characteristics of consonant systems in the Turkic languages of the South Siberian area from the standpoint of objective language complexity, we rely on M. Miestamo's position that phenomena that are often found in the languages of the world can be considered easy for everyone: speaking, listening,speakers of different languages. It is logical to assume that language units and patterns that are unique complicate the system. Another basic postulate for us is the conclusion of McWarter about the existence of a positive correlation between the degree of complexity of the phoneme inventory and the number of marked phonemes in it. The instrumental studies conducted by Siberian phoneticists suggest that consonant systems in the South Siberian Turkic languages were formed as a result of imposing on the substratum languages of the non-Turkic population of the Turkic superstrate language 33 with a consonant system organized by triple gradual opposition according to the degree of tension [17, p. 236]. Since for the articulation-acoustic bases of the autochthonous population of the Altai-Sayan ethnoareal there is a strong degree of muscularthat language units and patterns that are unique complicate the system. Another basic postulate for us is the conclusion of McWarter about the existence of a positive correlation between the degree of complexity of the phoneme inventory and the number of marked phonemes in it. The instrumental studies conducted by Siberian phoneticists suggest that consonant systems in the South Siberian Turkic languages were formed as a result of imposing on the substratum languages of the non-Turkic population of the Turkic superstrate language 33 with a consonant system organized by triple gradual opposition according to the degree of tension [17, p. 236]. Since for the articulation-acoustic bases of the autochthonous population of the Altai-Sayan ethnoareal there is a strong degree of muscularthat language units and patterns that are unique complicate the system. Another basic postulate for us is the conclusion of McWarter about the existence of a positive correlation between the degree of complexity of the phoneme inventory and the number of marked phonemes in it. The instrumental studies conducted by Siberian phoneticists suggest that consonant systems in the South Siberian Turkic languages were formed as a result of imposing on the substratum languages of the non-Turkic population of the Turkic superstrate language 33 with a consonant system organized by triple gradual opposition according to the degree of tension [17, p. 236]. Since for the articulation-acoustic bases of the autochthonous population of the Altai-Sayan ethnoareal there is a strong degree of muscularAnother basic postulate for us is the conclusion of McWarter about the existence of a positive correlation between the degree of complexity of the phoneme inventory and the number of marked phonemes in it. The instrumental studies conducted by Siberian phoneticists suggest that consonant systems in the South Siberian Turkic languages were formed as a result of imposing on the substratum languages of the

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cording to the type of larynx and language: injective / static / ejective units; The pharyngalization effect also arises when pronouncing ejective consonants.In the language of the Barabinsk Tatars, the opposition to injectivity / ejectivity revealed for the Shor language is realized in the form of phonological opposition by pharyngalization / non-pharyngealization; at the same time, pharyngalization in the language of Barabintsy is the determining phonological feature, and the degree of tension is concomitant. Inclusion in the juxtaposition of languages of the Baikal-Sayan region, Tuva and Tof, shows a different phonological status of these features: inshows a different phonological status of these features: inshows a different phonological status of these features: in the degree of tenseness of consonants in Tuvinian is the basic phonological feature, pharyngalization - tinged, determined by the algorithms of Tuvinian synharmonism. Quantitatively oriented consonant systems identified in the Altai, Kumandy, Chalkan, Tuba, and Khakass languages were formed as a result of the adaptation of the articulation-acoustic bases of the Altai-Sayan region's threatened acoustic systems to the phonological system of the super-superstrater super-weak articulations. Systems for which the basic characteristic is the characteristic of units according to voicing / deafness function in the Turkic languages of the north of Siberia (Yakut and Dolgan). In the South Siberian region, similar models are formed in the language of Kalmaks and in the Sagaisk dialect of the Khakass language as a result of the transformation of a system organized according to 34 intensity parameters (in the Sagaisk through an intermediate stage of a quantitatively structured system). Thus, from the point of view of the articulatory complexity of the subordinate characteristic accepted by the language as the basic structural and taxonomic characteristic, the consortium systems of the Shor, Baraba-Tatar and Tuvinian languages, organized by opposition in tension, should be qualified as more complex than the consonant systems in Altai, Kumandin, Chalkan, Tuba and Khakass languages, where the opposition is based on the quantitative characteristics of the units, as well as compared to Kalmak th system consonants, structured on the basis of voicing / deafness. Based on the position of McWarper that the phoneme inventory is more complicated than the more marked phonemes in it, since their presence implies the presence of unmarked members of the opposition, and therefore a more complex system of phonological differences (McWhorter 2001), it should also be concluded that The consortium systems of the Shor, Baraba, Tatar and Tuvinian languages are among the most complex, since they include classes of phonemes marked with signs that are not in demand in the compared languages . In contrast to the Shor, Baraba-Tatar and Tuva languages, the consonant systems of the Altai, Kumandin, Chalkan, Tuba, Khakass and Kalmak languages do not contain classes of consonants opposed to the parameters of glottalization / neglottalization, which indicates a relatively lower degree of phonological paradigmatic complexity these languages

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